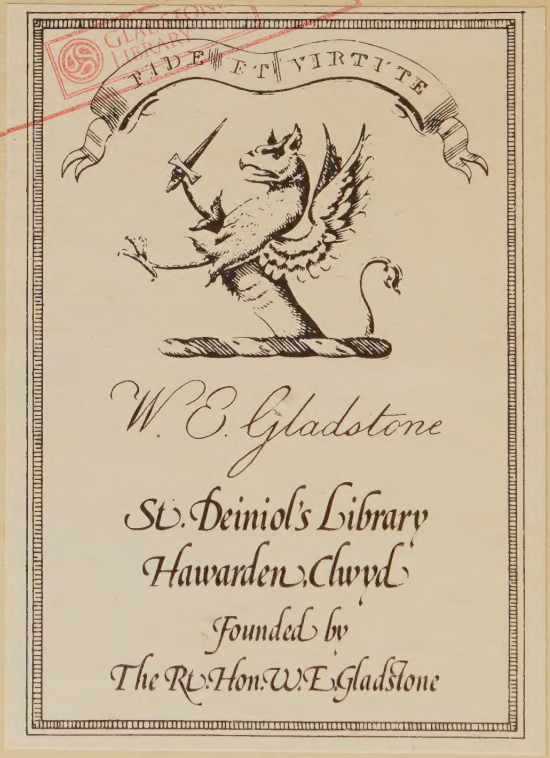
Cancelled from
Gladstone's Library
18 MAR 2024



B
10
71
83
d 1

HAWARDEN.

9 J

Woman (Jewish)

" (General)

THE BIBLE DOCTRINE OF WOMANHOOD

IN ITS HISTORICAL EVOLUTION

ST. DEINIOL'S LIBRARY,
HAWARDEN.

THE BIBLE DOCTRINE OF WOMANHOOD

IN ITS HISTORICAL EVOLUTION

BY

CHARLES RYDER SMITH, B.A., D.D.
(LOND.)

TUTOR IN THEOLOGY, RICHMOND COLLEGE, SURREY

AUTHOR OF
'THE BIBLE DOCTRINE OF SOCIETY IN ITS HISTORICAL EVOLUTION.'

Cancelled from Gladstone's Library
08 MAR 2024
GLADSTONE'S LIBRARY

LONDON
THE EPWORTH PRESS
J. ALFRED SHARP

2495

First Edition, 1923

ST. DEINIOL'S LIBRARY,
HAWARDEN.

Printed in Great Britain by
Southampton Times Ltd., Southampton

TO

MY MOTHER

AND

MY WIFE'S MOTHER

CONTENTS

Chap. Page

I. FOREWORDS 9

The Historical Point of View
Postulates about the Bible
The General Social Doctrine of the Bible
Conspectus of Authorities for the Three Old Testament Epochs

II. ISRAEL BEFORE THE KINGS: THE TYPE OF RUTH 30

Woman as Means of Children
The Waning of a Lower Concept
The Slow Dawn of a Higher Concept

III. ISRAEL UNDER THE KINGS: THE TYPE OF JEZEBEL 50

Stagnation and Decay
The Curse of the Harem
The Omission of the Prophets

IV. ISRAEL AFTER THE KINGS: THE TYPE OF SHULAMMITH 59

The Survival of Old Ideas
Personality within Home
The Home and the Nation
The *Rôles* of Law and Religion

V. THE NEW TESTAMENT: 'ONE IN CHRIST JESUS' 78

The Dominant Axiom
'Submission'
Ought a Woman to 'Teach'?
Variety among Equals

Chap. Page

The Temporariness of Sex
Celibacy, Re-marriage, and Divorce
Intermarriage and Monogamy
Progress by Accommodation
A Mutual Perfection

VI. EPILOGUE: THE PROBLEM OF WOMANHOOD TO-DAY 110

ADDITIONAL NOTES 114

1. Capital Punishment in Hebrew Law
2. The Doctrine of Womanhood in the Apocryphal and Apocalyptic Books
3. The Virgin Mary

INDEX TO SCRIPTURE REFERENCES 120

INDEX TO REFERENCES TO APOCRYPHA, &c. . . 123

INDEX TO NAMES AND SUBJECTS 124

I

FOREWORDS

The Historical Point of View

It is not unlikely that the historians of the future will look back upon to-day as the most important epoch in the long story of the evolution of womanhood. In this realm, as in some others, the Great War precipitated changes that had been slowly preparing for generations. During the last decade much has been granted to woman, and more has been demanded for her. While opinion may differ whether this or that change, or even the changes taken as a whole, may rightly be called 'progressive,' it is impossible to forbid the discussion of the subject, and if it were possible it would not be wise. It is important, however, that the discussion be 'according to knowledge.' And, since the story of the past always sheds light on the problems of the present, a part of the needed knowledge will spring from historical study. It follows that to a Christian student of the subject the history of womanhood in the Bible will be of moment, for almost all Christians recognize that the Bible is, in some way or other, authoritative. This, again, requires that, while the history of the *facts* about woman in ancient Israel and in the first Christian Church will be of value, the history of the *doctrine* of womanhood—of ideas about the right way of treating woman—will be pre-eminently so. For

the final teaching of that history must be regulative, in some way or other, for Christian thought to-day. This book seeks to trace both these histories—the history of the facts and of the ideas—but of the first only as subsidiary to the second.

In the discussions of to-day the advocates of 'woman's rights' criticize and resent the habit of beginning from the question, 'What ought to be the relation of women to men?' They say that it would be as reasonable to begin with the correlative question, 'What ought to be the relation of men to women?' This criticism and resentment are just. They are just whether the discussion be about the past or the future. But, while it is possible to change the point from which a problem shall in future be approached, it is not possible to change that from which it has already been approached, and, as matter of fact, in the past the problem has been conceived under the question stated. An historical study, therefore, is bound to begin from this question, even though it be allowed that the very form of the question is unfair to woman. It will be found that the biblical story traces her slow emancipation from the old tyranny of man.

It is hardly more than putting the same thing in other terms to say that historically the problem of womanhood has been mainly the problem of sex. The latter, of course, involves equally men and women, and is as little exhaustive of womanhood as of manhood. But again, the *fact* is that the problem of sex has bulked much more largely in historical doctrines of womanhood than of manhood, and that the

problem of womanhood has only slowly escaped absorption in it.

Yet the last phrase needs mending. Sex is a phenomenon that far outspreads mankind. Indeed, it belongs to almost all things known to man except the lowest, which is the inanimate, and the highest, which is God. The problem of womanhood has historically been the problem of sex within mankind, and so, since mankind is a society of persons, the problem of its regulation among mankind. Men of science tell us of an 'instinctive' regulation of sex in the animal world, but among mankind the regulation is conscious, voluntary, and changeable. In other words, the problem of womanhood has been the problem of marriage. One more word needs adding here. In dealing with sex human societies have usually imposed some degree of reticence upon their members. They have found this to be one of the wise ways of controlling the strong sexual passion. But the degree of reticence has varied in different societies, and even in the same society at different times. What is counted 'decent' at one epoch is reckoned 'prudish' at another; the lines between the 'modest' and the 'immodest,' and between the 'immodest' and the 'wanton,' have been variously drawn. For instance, in the last few years there has in England been a revolt against the stricter reticence of the nineteenth century. To gauge the gains and losses of such changes would not be in place here, but it is evident that it is not possible to treat the history of womanhood, especially through long periods where the standard of reticence has varied, without some reference to customs that

are not generally canvassed to-day. This is peculiarly true of the most ancient times. While there is nothing below to feed the prurient, in a book on the present subject account has necessarily to be taken of all the pertinent phenomena in the Bible. Such an account has its compensative encouragement, especially for those who, taking into view only a short period of time, cry out that on this side of life there is no progress at all.

Postulates about the Bible

Every writer about the Bible to-day has to face the question of the date and authorship of its documents. This is here peculiarly true of the Old Testament, for the books of the New Testament are now almost universally ascribed to the eighty years that followed the Crucifixion of Christ, and this period is treated below as a whole. As to the Old Testament, no one will expect a discussion here of the many questions that centre round the phrase 'Higher Criticism.' The writer is among those who prefer the less ambiguous phrase, 'The historical study of the Bible,' and who accept in the main the conclusions of such works as Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* and Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible.* The history of Old Testament thought on the subject of womanhood is treated below in three chapters, which cover respectively three historical periods—Israel before the Monarchy, the Hebrew Monarchy, Israel after the Monarchy. The documents assigned to each period are named in a conspectus at the end of

this chapter. It need hardly be said that the division of the subject is convenient but not absolute, and that the thought of one period 'overlaps' that of another. Some scholars place the line that divides the first two periods rather at the rise of Assyria (*circa* 800 B.C.) than at the rise of the Hebrew Monarchy (*circa* 1000 B.C.). This difference, however, does not affect more than some details of the discussion. In any case, the changes traced did take place.

Again, the writer is among those who, while they believe that God has been pleased gradually but uniquely to reveal Himself through the Bible, yet do not think that the first few chapters of Genesis contain an account of the actual origin of the world and of civilization. He believes that documents of differing date have been combined in these chapters, and that each document gives the ideas of Israel at the period to which it belongs. This means that the Bible is no longer treated as giving a historical account of the origin of woman or marriage. Further, as the history of the ancient East grows clearer it becomes more and more certain that it is a mistake to treat anything in the Bible as really 'primitive.' 'There were many great men before Agamemnon,' and also before Abraham. The civilization of 'Bible lands' was ancient before Israel was born. In particular, human marriage already had a history millenniums old. Ethnologists tell us that it is still very doubtful what the primitive practice of marriage among men was,[1] but it is

[1] For this and the subsequent remarks in this paragraph see article 'Marriage (Introductory and Primitive)' in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, with its bibliography (W. H. R. Rivers).

certain that, by the time that Abraham spread his tent in Palestine, many races of men had made many experiments in its regulation, and that by the operation of experience some customs had been or were being abandoned by progressive peoples. For instance, there had been and were many tribes among whom the 'family,' in the modern sense of the word, was unknown. Instead, all the women of the community were treated as a common possession. Sometimes, again, the men of one such community had dealings, not with the women of their own community, but with those of another. Where there was something like a 'family,' it might be 'polyandrous' or 'polygynous'—that is, the 'family' might consist of one woman with several husbands, or of one man with several wives. These are only hints of a long, tedious, and confused history, in which men tried to find the way to regulate sex. They are named here in order that it may be seen that the institution with which the Bible narrative opens—that of 'polygyny,' or, to use the more usual but less exact term, 'polygamy,' as practised, for instance, by the Patriarchs and Judges of early Hebrew story—was itself the issue of a prolonged development, and that it was a great deal better than some of the practices which, in the Hebrew race as in a number of others, it had superseded.

The General Social Doctrine of the Bible

There is a certain disadvantage in considering a single social subject by itself. The social ideas of all communities have a close and

living relation with each other, and one of them can only be studied alone by a process like that of amputation in surgery. This is especially so with early societies, for in them the various parts of social life are not clearly 'differentiated,' either in practice or in theory. Hebrew social teaching, in particular, has an organic unity of so interrelated a kind that he who would thoroughly understand a part must understand the whole. The difficulty can be met in part if it be constantly remembered, and in part by frequent reference to contemporay ideas on other social subjects. Both these methods are used below, and it is hoped that thereby the treatment is sufficiently complete in itself. At the same time the writer has taken the liberty to refer constantly to his earlier work entitled *The Bible Doctrine of Society in its Historical Evolution*,[1] in which he has laid out, period by period, the general social teaching of the Bible in its ordered development from 'The Early Ideal,' as embodied in the stories of the Patriarchs, to 'The Final Ideal,' as exhibited in the New Testament. A very brief account of this development, with special reference to the points of contact with the subject of this book, follows.

In the work named the social teaching of the Old Testament is studied in four parts, but for the subject of womanhood the first two coalesce. The primitive notions of all peoples have to be drawn from their ancient and beloved tales. The earliest Hebrew stories tell, not of a race or

[1] T. and T. Clark (Edinburgh). The references to this book are made under the contraction '*B. D. S.*'

tribe or kingdom, but of a family. Whether the account of Abraham's family, and then of Isaac's, and then of Jacob's, depict history or not, it does portray the ideal of the early Israelites. For the purpose of this book the important fact is that the ideal is of a *family*, for clearly the family and womanhood are closely related topics. Indeed, this is the only important element in 'The Early Ideal' of Israel for the present subject. The Hebrew family, as already suggested, was of the polygamous type. There are, indeed, some obscure traces that other types of marriage did persist in the far-off days with which these stories and those of the Judges deal,[1] but these are the last dim instances of dying customs. It was the family of the polygamous type that survived through all the epochs of the Old Testament.

The Hebrew books go on to tell of the period that has been distinguished above as pre-Monarchic. At this time Israel consisted of a loosely-knit body of tribes, who all worshipped the same God, Jahveh; who shared also a common customary law; and who recognized more or less effectively the claims of mutual defence. Each tribe consisted of a group of villages, which lay here and there amid the uncultivated 'field' or 'jungle.' Every village was a group of families, each under its own head. It was governed by its 'elders,' or heads of families. Around it lay a belt of cultivated land, parcelled out into the ancestral plots of the

[1] e.g. Gen. xxxi. 43 may mean that sometimes at least a son-in-law and his children became part of his father-in-law's family, while Judges xv. 1 may illustrate another custom, whereby a husband only occasionally visited his wife, who remained in her father's house.

several families. The family was thereby the unit of life. The best single picture of the period is the Book of Ruth. It is, indeed, ascribed by some scholars to the latest of Old Testament periods, but, even so, it deliberately portrays 'the good old times,' and the village was just the most 'unchangeable' part of the 'changeless' East.[1] This book's account of Boaz and his home could be paralleled, if detail by detail were collected, from the documents which all students reckon among the earliest of Hebrew records. The doctrine of womanhood for this period is described in the next chapter. It might be summed under the phrase 'The Type of Ruth.'

The third part of the Old Testament study covers the Monarchy (1010–586 B.C.). The basal social facts about it are the continuance of the villages of Israel, and the emergence of kingship and city. This led to a new and complex series of problems, and it is the glory of the great Prophets that they were equal to the challenge. They answered by hammering out their great doctrine of Righteousness. This is one of three words which are spelt below with 'capitals' to show that they are used in a particular sense. The distinctions of Old Testament Righteousness are these: it was a quality that was fundamentally religious, for its definition derived from the character and will of God; none the less, it was a practical and social concept, for it included four qualities, and these were all of social import—

[1] The chief reason for the late date too—that the book was written to protest against Nehemiah and Ezra's prohibition of marriages with aliens—assumes that every book must be a polemic. As if the East has not always loved a tale for its own sake!

justice, mercy, truth, and peace; it is of universal, and not of temporary and local, application. But with this there went another principle, subsidiary but needed, which the Prophets never fully articulated, but which they often employed — the principle of Accommodation. This is the second term ' with a capital.' It is not easy to define, but a tentative attempt may be made. The principle of Accommodation justifies the use of an imperfect means, if this be the best way to advance towards an immediately unattainable ideal. Similarly, it is temporarily content with an imperfect stage of a process if that stage be the best immediately possible. Those who are used to the subject will note at once that the term is used as a synonym for ' compromise ' or ' opportunism,' and that the above definition is an attempt approximately to lay down a rule for a very difficult part of the art of life. It is impossible to discuss the questions thus raised further here, but it needs to be noted that, while during the Monarchy itself little or no conscious use was made of the principle in relation to the subject of womanhood, such applications were made later, particularly in the New Testament epoch. What this means will appear below. It is perhaps more surprising that the Prophets did not apply the principle of Righteousness to the subject of womanhood. Indeed, on this subject they added almost nothing to the ideal of the preceding period. This was their chief omission. The new phenomenon of the Hebrew Monarchy in relation to womanhood was the coming of the harem. This was a step backwards, as is shown in the third chapter below. The evil

may be gathered in the phrase 'The Type of Jezebel.'

The last Old Testament period covers the Exile (586–538 B.C.) and the succeeding four centuries. On the social side of its teaching its distinctive achievement was the complete articulation of a doctrine that had always been implicit in Israelite thought—the doctrine of the likeness of man to God. This is Hebrew for 'the worth of personality.' It follows that at this period the doctrine of the 'worth' of the 'individual' also reached its zenith in Israel. Obviously these two closely related notions have a great bearing on the doctrine of womanhood. Is not woman, as well as man, 'made in the image of God'? Is not she, too, a person? Has not she an 'individuality'? It was not the way of Israel to work out theoretical systems of thought, nor did every Hebrew teacher at this time see even the practical applications of 'the worth of personality' to the subject of womanhood, yet there were discoverers in this realm. The discovery can be traced in more than one way, but it is signally enshrined in the Song of Songs. This subject is discussed in the fourth chapter of this book. The nameless heroine of the Song of Songs is called in one of its passages 'the Shulammite,' or in Hebrew 'Shulammith,' and the last of Old Testament doctrines about womanhood might be entitled 'The Type of Shulammith.'

With the New Testament a new situation is reached. The society whose story it tells is not a nation, but a Church—a small and scattered religious community, which yet claimed to have

a universal message. It so far anticipated this universality as to solve the problem of uniting Jew and 'Greek.' Yet, while it was unlike the Israel of the Old Testament, it was also like it, for it was its true heir, and, in particular, it shared in its characteristic axiom that a true sociology must be based on a true theology, that the foundation of a right doctrine of man is a right doctrine of God. For the purpose of this book a few items only in the social ideal of the first Christians need to be named. It does justice both to the individual and to society, for it recognizes a divine original for the 'worth' of both. Every man—and equally every woman—is of so great worth that he—and she—may be called a child of God; that for him—and for her—the Son of God has died; that he—and she—is capable of the Spirit of God. No doctrine of the value of individual personality could surpass this. Again, while God is one, He is also three—that is, while He is individual He is also social. In describing His nature on its social side, the terms chosen are of great significance. Two of them, 'Father' and 'Son,' belong to the type of society with which Bible sociology begins, and which is persistent throughout its periods, the family. In consonance with this the Fatherhood of God is the basal idea of the New Testament account of the final and perfect society. Further, the New Testament uses a third term about God, Holy 'Spirit.' It is only at first sight that this name seems disconnected with the concept of family or home, for while a human home begins with physical links, it is only really home if it be one in spirit. It may be true

that the term 'spirit,' when so used, does not connote personality, as does the term 'Holy Spirit,' but this means only that the latter connotes much more than the former, and the greater includes the less. The truth is that man is made 'in the likeness of God' both on the side of individuality and on the side of society, and that on both sides it is his for ever to approximate to that divine and perfect example which he can never exhaust. It is now an old saying that man is not a person, but only becoming one; similarly, human society is not a society, but only becoming one. And any particular human society is truly human just in so far as its link is the Spirit of the perfect man, who is also the Spirit of God.

This leads to another remark. All societies consist of individuals, and they all have to face the difficulty of adjusting the rights of a society with those of the individuals that compose it. This is, indeed, one of the three ultimate social problems, the others being the relation of individuals to each other and of societies to each other. For all the New Testament proposes the same solution—that every individual and every society be 'filled with' the same Spirit, the Spirit of the God-Man. This would mean that all the individuals that compose any society would 'realize themselves,' for the Spirit of Christ is the Spirit of a complete humanity; it would mean, further, that every society, so far as it was truly human, would also 'realize' itself, for the same reason; lastly, it would mean that all worthy individuals and all true societies would unite in the harmony of a single great society—which may be named either mankind, or the

kingdom of heaven, or the family of God—for their one Spirit would give each a fit and adequate place in the greater society of which all are parts and ministers. So the individual and society on the one hand, and the several individuals or societies on the other, would not contradict but complete each other. It is not idle ' vapouring ' but sober truth to say that the doctrine of the immanence of the Spirit in man and mankind is the one final solution of all social problems.

The temper of such individuals and such societies needs a name. The name most commonly used is ' love.' This may be the best for most purposes, but for exact social study at the present time it labours under the disadvantage of vagueness and ambiguity. Almost all ' social reformers ' appeal to it, but they by no means all intend the same thing. For the New Testament the term has a distinctive sense. This is most easily stated, after the example of Jesus, by the quotation of two Old Testament texts as if they were one, ' Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart and mind and soul and strength ; and thy neighbour as thyself.' Here three kinds of love are set in a certain relation. Their names are the love of God, the love of neighbour, and the love of self. None of them is denounced ; rather, it is taken for granted that each has its right place in life. Christianity has its own definition of the right place of each. For it the love of God is paramount in life and exhaustive of it. Within that master-passion there is room both for love of neighbour and for love of self, each in its subordinate place. The two commonest

temptations, at any rate to-day, are to subordinate the love of God on the one hand, and the love of neighbour on the other, to the love of self. This is the real Christian definition of 'selfishness.' A third error is clearly possible; a man might subordinate the love of God to the love of neighbour. The way of many altruistic schools is either to do this or to deny or ignore the need for the love of God altogether. Such altruism is not Christianity, yet it eulogizes 'love'! Some distinctive term other than love, therefore, is needed to denote the love that is threefold and yet is one—the love of God wholly, and therefore the love of every child of His, whether it be neighbour or self. This love will seek to perfect God's Kingdom, and will include therein the perfection *equally* of self and neighbour. For this love the term 'Meekness'—with a 'capital M'—is used below for convenience. For a further account of it, as well as for all else that is being succinctly said in these paragraphs about the New Testament, reference must again be made to the earlier work named above.

The relations of man to woman, and of society to woman, are particular instances of the wider problems just described. Again, the final solution of these special problems can only be by the same means as the final solution of all others—by the indwelling of the Spirit of God. Further, if the Holy Spirit be the spirit of humanity—and this is only another way of saying that man is made in God's image—then His 'coming upon' a person must perfect that personality, whether man's or woman's, for 'humanity' consists of both. What this implies about womanhood

and about sex will appear in the last chapter. Once more, the temper of Meekness, while it will perfect mankind at last, may obtain already among men ; it ought to obtain already between Christians ; and, just in so far as through Christians it comes to obtain everywhere, mankind will advance towards the perfection of the Kingdom of Christ. Finally, it is clear that, if Meekness prevail in men and women, and between men and women, the problems of womanhood will be solved. In particular, where and when Meekness is consummated, manhood and womanhood will perfect each other in the common ministry of the kingdom of God. Just in so far as it is practised in the meanwhile, manhood and womanhood will serve and perfect each other. For since Meekness is the love of God, it spends itself in seeking to make all men, and all women, and all human societies, into that which is God's purpose for them, and His purposes cannot contradict each other, but must unite in one great end.

While the one *motive* of Meekness may guide Christians to-day as well as in the perfect future, Christian *behaviour* in the imperfect present may still differ from what it will be 'when that which is perfect is come.' For behaviour is relative to environment, and environment is not yet Christian. In other words, the imperfection of environment imposes 'imperfection,' in one sense of the word, on behaviour, even if the motive be perfect. Jesus Himself, while on earth, could not behave as He will in the 'coming age,' or, to give the greatest instance, there would have been no Crucifixion.

The behaviour proper to a perfect society is not always proper to an imperfect one, and *vice versa*. There is here wide scope for the use of Accommodation. Indeed, the relation of the Christian Practice to the Christian Ideal is just a study in that quality. In the larger work the New Testament ideal is set out in one chapter, and the New Testament practice, under sundry typical instances, in another. In this book the two are treated together. The reason is that the problems of womanhood are not dealt with in any complete way in the New Testament, but only, as it were, by sample, in the particular forms that they happened to assume in New Testament times. Indeed, the New Testament has in one sense no separate ideal either for womanhood or manhood, for its ideal transcends both. What needs to be said of this ideal in relation to womanhood is said below, partly as prelude to the discussion of the problems of New Testament practice, and partly as deduction from their solutions.

A single word, home, gives the key to the whole Bible doctrine of society—home, that is, with its implicit ideas of fatherhood and brotherhood. The evolution of thought from Abraham to Paul might be summed as the discovery of the true nature and scope of the Fatherhood of God. Throughout the intervening centuries the human home, which is its antitype (Eph. iii. 15), persists, yet changes as it persists. And the changes depend upon the slow emergence of the doctrine of personality. For personality is a paradox. It requires both dependence and independence; it is intrinsically both social and individnal

The home always provided for the first element. At the beginning of the long evolution, however, the only independent or individual person was the head of the home, the Patriarch himself. The difficult and tedious path by which the personality of the other members of the society of home came to be admitted cannot be traced here, but ultimately it was allowed for all that they ought somehow to be fully persons. That is, they ought to be both dependent and independent. This concept may be applied in both its parts to woman. It is often claimed that she ought to be 'independent.' If this were all, it would be equivalent to a claim to perish. For women are persons, and 'persons feed on persons.' There is no life that is not mutual. Yet the word 'independence' is still in place. For while from the beginning woman has rightly been part and parcel of home, she has a right to claim that, like man, she shall not be merely this, but shall be 'an end in herself' as well. The way in which the Bible comes dimly to apprehend this and then fully to assert it, is traced below, together with the way in which the discovery by reflex action transfigured home.

The writer cannot close this introductory chapter without heartily thanking his friends and colleagues, Rev. Eric S. Waterhouse, M.A., D.D., and Rev. F. Bertram Clogg, M.A., B.D., for reading the proofs of the book and making a number of valuable suggestions.

CONSPECTUS OF AUTHORITIES

For the Three Old Testament Epochs

This statement does not distinguish brief paragraphs, unimportant for social theory, that belong to one epoch but occur in the midst of passages that belong to another. For exact lists of these the reader is referred to Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, upon which this conspectus is based. At the same time, no quotation has been wittingly made even from these brief paragraphs, except for their proper period, without the fact being noted. Where Driver does not date a Psalm, Briggs' Commentary in the 'International Critical' series has been followed. The letters J,E,D and P are occasionally used below to denote the different documents in the Pentateuch in the way explained in modern 'introductions' to the Old Testament.

i. *Documents for the pre-Monarchic Period*

The 'Jahvist' and 'Elohist' parts of Genesis—viz. Gen. ii. 5–25; iii.; iv.; vi. 1–8; vii.; viii.; ix. 18–28; x.; xi. 1–19; xii.; xiii.; xv.; xvi.; xviii.–xxii.; xxiv.–xxvi.; xxvii. 1–45; xxviii. 10–22; xxix.–xxxv.; xxxvii.–xlv.; xlvi. 1–5, 28–34; xlvii.; xlviii.; l.

The 'Jahvist' and 'Elohist' parts of Exodus, Numbers and Joshua—viz. Exod. i.–v.; vii. 14–25; viii.–xi.; xii. 21–42; xiii.–xv; xvii.–xxiv.; xxxii.–xxxiv. Num. x. 29–36; xi.–xiv.; xvi. 12–34; xx.–xxiv.; xxv. 1–5; xxxii.

Joshua ii.–vii.; viii. 1–29; ix.; x. 1–27; xiv. 6–15; xvi.; xvii.; xxiv.

The earlier parts of Judges and of 1 Samuel, i.–xi.—viz. Judges i.; ii. 1–10; iii. 1–3; iv.–ix.; x. 1–5; xi.–xix.; xxi. 1–4. 1 Sam. i.; ii. 11–26; iii.–vi.; ix.; x. 1–16; xi.

Ruth. Gen. xlix. and Deut. xxxiii. Deut. xxxiv.

ii. *Documents for the Monarchy*

Histories—1 Sam. ii. 1–10, 27–36; vii.; viii.; x. 17–27; xii.–xxxi. (some chapters being later than the main story). 2 Sam. (chap. vii. and perhaps the Songs in xxii. and xxiii. being later than the rest). 1 and 2 Kings (the Compiler's parts, e.g. 1 Kings viii. 23–61, falling quite at the close of the Monarchy).

The Deuteronomic writings—Deut. i.–xxxii. Josh. i.; viii. 30–35; x. 28–43; xi.; xii.; xiii. 1–12; xxii. 1–8; xxiii. Judges ii. 11–23; iii. 4–15; x. 6–18.

Prophecies—Hosea, Amos, Micah (except perhaps iv. 11–13). Isaiah i.–x.; xi. 1–9; xiv. 24–32; xv.–xxxiii.; xxxvi.; xxxvii.; xxxviii. 1–8. Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah (except perhaps iii. 14–20). Jeremiah i.–ix.; x. 17–25; xi.–xxxii.; xxxiii. 1–16; xxxiv.–xlix.; li. 59–64. Ezekiel.

Psalms ii., iii., vii., xiii., xviii. (2 Sam. xxii.), xx., xxi., xxiii., xxiv. 7–10, xxvii., xxviii., xxxvi. 1–4, xlv., xlvi., lii., liv.–lvi., lviii., lx.–lxiii., lxxii., lxxvi., xc., xci., ci., cx. Lamentations.

Proverbs i.–ix.; x. 1–xxii. 16; xxii. 17–xxiv. 22; xxv.–xxix.—i.e. the chief collections.

iii. *Documents for the post-Monarchic Period*

The 'Code of Holiness' (Lev. xvii.–xxvi.)—possibly Monarchic; if so, this illustrates the 'overlapping' of periods.

The 'Priestly' documents—Gen. i.; ii. 1–4; v.; vi. 9–22; ix. 1–17; xi. 10–32; xvii.; xxiii.; xxviii. 1–9; xxxvi.; xlvi. 6–27. Exod. vi.; vii. 1–13; xii. 1–20, 43–51; xvi.; xxv.–xxxi.; xxxv.–xl. Lev. i.–xvi.; xxvii. Num. i.–ix.; x. 1–28; xv.; xvi. 1–11, 35–50; xvii.–xix.; xxv. 6–18; xxvi.–xxxi.; xxxiii.–xxxvi. Joshua xiii. 15–32; xv.; xviii.–xxi.; xxii. 9–34. Judges xx. and xxi. 5–14 (of similar type if not 'Priestly'). Ezra–Nehemiah. 1 and 2 Chronicles.

Prophecies—Isaiah xl.–lxvi. (whether by one or more authors); xi. 10–16; xii.; xiii.; xiv. 1–23; xxi. 1–10; xxiv.–xxvii.; xxxiv.; xxxv.; xxxviii. 9–20. Jeremiah x. 1–16; xxxiii. 17–26; l.; li. 1–58. Joel. Obadiah (though vv. 1–9 are of Monarchic origin). Haggai. Zechariah (three Prophecies). Malachi.

Psalms i.; iv.–vi.; viii.–xii.; xiv.–xvii.; xix.; xxii.; xxiv. 1–6; xxv.; xxvi.; xxix.–xxxv.; xxxvi. 5–12; xxxvii.–xliv.; xlvii.–li.; liii.; lvii.; lix.; lxiv.–lxxi.; lxxiii.–lxxv.; lxxvii.–lxxxix.; xcii.–c.; cii.–cix.; cxi.–cl. Job. Ecclesiastes. Song of Songs.

Proverbs xxiv. 23–34; xxx.; xxxi. Esther. Daniel. Jonah.

II

ISRAEL BEFORE THE KINGS—THE TYPE OF RUTH

Woman as means of Children

It is usually difficult to discover the exact status that woman holds in any nation, for the evidence is almost always conflicting. Peoples give to woman with one hand but withhold with the other. Yet nothing defines national character with greater nicety than the value set on womanhood. As already noted, the question has historically taken this form, 'How shall men treat women?' Logically three answers may be distinguished: men may use women as mere means of bodily pleasure; they may use them as mere means of children; they may treat them as persons, and so as 'ends in themselves.' The word 'mere' is important, for the third and high use does not exclude either the satisfaction of natural appetite in due subordination nor the desire for children. Sex is, under the first answer, the sole element in the concept of woman and under the second the chief one, but in the third it sinks below the other qualities, noble though difficult to define, that make personality. Under it at last woman ceases to be a tool and reaches intrinsic worth alongside man.

As races are rarely consistent in their treatment of woman, two of the uses named often co-exist; indeed, all three may do so. Different societies,

therefore, are generally distinguishable by the answer they give to the question, 'Which of the three uses *predominates*?' The answer for Israel's pre-Monarchic period is that, while there were survivals of the lowest use and faint anticipations of the highest, the prevalent view of woman was as means of children. She was an element in the full prosperity of an ideal Hebrew home (cf. *B. D. S.* p. 7 f.).

The early Hebrew commonwealth may be defined as a confederacy of tribes. Each tribe in turn was a group of villages, and each village a group of families. The state was therefore a 'democracy of families' (*B. D. S.* pp. 26–41). The family was the smallest effective 'social unit.' It is consonant with this that woman should be valued chiefly as means of children. The illustrations from the earliest documents are legion. Sarah counted sterility a curse (Gen. xvi. 2); Leah and Rachel competed with each other in motherhood (Gen. xxix. 31–xxx. 24); the extinction of her father's house rather than her own death drove Jephthah's daughter into the mountains to mourn (Judges xi. 34, 37); Elkanah's partiality for Hannah did not rob Penninah's provocation of its sting (1 Sam. i. 6, 8); a child was a gift of God (Judges xiii. 3; 1 Sam. i. 6, 11 ff.; ii. 21; &c., &c.), and a mother dying upon a son's birth might well die happy (1 Sam. iv. 20); it was a duty to marry a childless kinsman's widow just that he might not go heirless (Gen. xxxviii. 26; Ruth iv. 5, 10); the people's benediction on Boaz was to wish him offspring (Ruth iv. 12), while for Ruth they wished that she might be 'like Rachel and like Leah, which

two did build the house of Israel' (Ruth iv. 11 ff.; cf. Gen. xxiv. 60); Naomi's last comfort was to fondle an heir, and the women of Bethlehem crowded about her to share her joy when the Lord had lifted from her a woman's crowning curse of childlessness (Ruth iv. 14 ff.). Every phrase in the last passage witnesses that to be a mother was the Hebrew woman's ideal bliss. Indeed, the whole Book of Ruth culminates in the birth of Obed. 'Give me children,' cried Rachel to Jacob, 'or else I die' (Gen. xxx. 1).

Here polygamy intrudes. How far it obtained in Israel is not known, for it is a practice that may be both lawful and rare. The great majority of Hindus, for instance, are monogamist.[1] The story of Eden suggests that in Israel monogamy was normal (Gen. ii. 24 f.), and the story of Jacob that the family of a first bride sometimes demanded that she should have no 'rival' (Gen. xxxi. 50). Still, there were Israelites, whether many or few, who followed the example of Abraham and Jacob rather than that of Isaac, and practised polygamy. Its justification almost everywhere in the world is the same—as means of children (e.g. Gen. xvi. 2, xxx. 1–3). No doubt in Israel, as elsewhere, it was often practised from mere lust. No doubt, again, in many early societies it was impossible to be a 'single woman' unless as a harlot. Yet even so polygamy was counted more 'respectable' than harlotry, and it was more 'respectable' because it could be justified

[1] The 1901 census of India gave only eight polygamists among every thousand married Hindus (*Indian Census Report*, i. p. 447). As the numbers of males and females born are almost equal, polygamy could only be common in a settled race if many men were celibate.

as a means to a prosperous home. An Emperor of China's retinue of differentiated wives is justified in the Chinese classics on just this ground.[1] As a nation passes from the intermediate concept of woman to the high one, and subordinates motherhood to personality, polygamy disappears. Its legitimacy is a witness to the prevalence of the idea that women are chiefly means of children.

Concubinage is a particular form of polygamy. It, too, obtained in Israel (Exod. xxi. 7 ff.; Judges viii. 31, xix. 1 ff.). Sometimes a concubine was taken definitely as means of children (Gen. xvi. 2, xxx. 3). The first impulse is to condemn the practice as less desirable than the equality of wives, but consideration makes this less clear. In ancient races a concubine was usually a bondwoman[2] and so a valuable link in the union of the bondservants with the family (*B. D. S.*, pp. 14 f.). Her position, too, especially if she were a mother, aided the elevation of slaves. Further, while polygamy is inherently factious[3] there would be more

[1] R. K. Douglas, *Confucianism and Taouism*, p. 128.

[2] In Judges viii. 31, ix. 18 the terms 'concubine' and 'maidservant' alternate. A freeman could sell his daughter into concubinage (Exod. xxi. 7 ff.), though apparently she might become a concubine without becoming a slave (Judges xix. 1–9).

[3] Gen. xxxi. 50. In some South Sea Islands many women lost their noses, for a stronger wife would bite off the nose of a weaker one! Or, again, at Wesley's request one of his preachers, Joseph Benson, wrote a reply to an eighteenth-century plea for polygamy. He has a footnote: 'I am told the following lines were spoken extempore by a mad woman in Bedlam upon hearing of Mr. Madan's scheme of poly gamy:

> If John marry Mary and Mary *alone*,
> It is a good match between Mary and John;
> But if John marry more wives, what blows and what scratches!
> 'Tis no longer a *match*, but a *bundle of matches*.'
>
> (*Arminian Magazine*, vol. vi., p. 428.)

hope of peace in a household if one wife were indisputably first. Most of all, the recognition of the difference of status would in its own way serve the evolution of monogamy, for the women of a progressive race would less and less be willing to accept the inferior position, and fathers would less and less thrust it upon their daughters.

Another illustration of the prevalence of the opinion that woman's use is to bring children is the peculiar stigma that belonged to one sin against purity—adultery. As this thrust upon a husband spurious offspring, it was often visited with harsh penalties even when harlotry was still a respectable calling. The story of Tamar in Genesis shows that, at a time when early Israel still thought it quite reputable that a husband visit a harlot, an unfaithful wife might be burnt to death (Gen. xxxviii.).

There are some signs that in Israel before the Kings adultery was rare. It is assumed that all races abhorred it;[1] the Hebrew term for 'to commit adultery' does not occur, unless in the Seventh Commandment, until Hosea; of the crime itself the early history has but one instance, that of the Levite's concubine in the Book of Judges (xix. 2); the codes of law do not apportion a penalty for it until the later Monarchy (Deut. xxii. 22; Lev. xx. 10); then the penalty was death. All these things, each in its own way, suggest that in Israel's simpler age adultery was infrequent, though it became common in the Monarchic epoch of general ethical decay. It

[1] Gen. xii. 10 ff., xx. 1 ff., xxvi. 1 ff. The contention that in the first of these narratives adultery is counted innocent not only argues merely from silence but leaves the story pointless (v. 17).

was significant for this people's future that adultery was the crime of its hero king, but equally significant of its past that thereupon Nathan faced David with so stern a doom: 'Thus saith the Lord, . . . The sword shall never depart from thy house, because thou hast despised Me and hast taken the wife of Uriah the Hittite to be thy wife' (2 Sam. xii. 7, 10). Almost every other nation has suffered in silence the adultery of kings.[1]

The Waning of a Lower Concept

Yet the lower concept of woman was not extinct.[2] Its dark survival may be traced chiefly in two customs—the treatment of women captives and the toleration of harlotry. Each of these requires closer examination.

Among the ancient tribes of Arabia, as elsewhere in primitive times, the women of a beaten foe, like the men (*B. D. S.*, pp. 82 ff., 96), had no rights. They were either butchered or outraged. Yet the savagery of headlong lust gradually mitigated. Particular captives were appropriated to particular warriors, and their status then might approximate to that of

[1] For adultery and allied crimes in Hebrew law see Additional Note 1.

[2] Israel, even in its earliest story, bad, however, already learnt to abhor some still more loathsome customs (Gen. xix. 7; Judges xix. 22; Exod. xxii. 19.) Other races—for instance the Greek—have practised the first of these at a much later historical stage, and the passages named suggest that it was followed among the Canaanites. The outrage at Gibeah, again, is pilloried as un-Hebrew (Judges xix. 30). An old ceremonial abstinence, a forerunner of self-control, obtained in Israel, as in other early tribes (Exod. xix. 15; cf. 1 Sam. xxi. 4 f.).

concubines.[1] These customs can be traced in early Israel. Sometimes the Hebrews slew women as well as men in indiscriminate *jihad* (Joshua viii. 2, 25 ff.); of the other custom the Song of Deborah gives a significant hint: 'Have they not found, have they not divided the spoil? A damsel, two damsels, to every man' (Judges v. 30). The question is put on alien lips, yet there is no hint that the Hebrews were here better than others. And neither the English word 'damsel' nor Moore's 'a wench, a couple of wenches'[2] has the sexual directness of the Hebrew term. Yet all the persons in the song's implied picture are themselves women! Sisera's mother and 'her wise ladies' exult in other women's rape, while Deborah herself mouths the hideous word. A captured woman was chief spoil; she had no rights, and only as the general brutality of war assuaged was any mercy admitted her. When the mitigation of her lot began in Israel is unknown; by the time of the Deuteronomist it was statutory (Deut. xxi. 10 ff.). War's sinister combination of two kinds of violence, cruelty and lust, is constant in history.

Robertson Smith has shown that in the Semitic world the custom of 'harlotry' long prevailed alongside marriage, particularly among the poorer classes, without any particular 'slur' attaching to it. But the same writer also shows that as in marriage a woman became the property of a single husband, rich men practised it—that so a harlot came to hold a lower status than a wife—and that ultimately to visit a harlot

[1] Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, pp. 89 ff.

[2] *International Critical Commentary*, volume on 'Judges,' p. 170.

ceased to befit a respectable man.[1] How far had this process advanced in Israel before the Kings?

The cases of harlotry named in the records happen to be few. Rahab, Jephthah's unnamed mother, and the unnamed harlot of Gaza, with the doubtful addition of Delilah, complete the list (Joshua ii. 1, vi. 17 ff.; Judges xi. 1 f., xvi. 1, 4 ff.). Tamar's deceit of Judah also bears witness to the custom (Gen. xxxviii.). The narrative of Jephthah shows that already in Israel a harlot held a lower status than a wife, for this fierce fellow's brethren expelled him from the family patrimony because he was a harlot's son[2]. Simeon and Levi's indignant question about Dinah (Gen. xxxiv. 31), and the shame attaching to the phrase 'to play the harlot' (Gen. xxxviii. 24; cf. Judges xix. 2), suggest the same conclusion. While, however, there was already some stigma, whether slight or not, upon the harlot herself, it is not clear whether any at all attached to her visitors. The stories of Judah and Samson seem to show that there was a period in Hebrew history when a 'respectable' man might visit a harlot without losing his 'respectability,' but even this 'argument from silence' is not conclusive, for how often have English historians named Nelson's adultery without censure! The positive evidence of the documents is about another point.

[1] Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, pp. 168 ff., 206. The author makes these facts good, whatever be the ultimate fate of the theory by which he seeks to explain them.

[2] Judges xi. 1. Day (*Social Life of Hebrews*, p. 27) proposes quietly to ignore this text in the interest of the theory that Israel had not yet reached this stage!

The custom of sacred harlotry—by which women devoted to a god were common to all worshippers at his shrine—was rife among Israel's neighbours.[1] The origin of the custom is obscure. It is also uncertain whether at this stage every harlot among the neighbour peoples practised her fearful calling under the aegis of some god. It may have been so, for the Hebrew term for a sacred harlot (Kedeshah), though it only occurs once in the documents pertinent for this period, is then synonymous with 'harlot' (Gen. xxxviii. 15, 21–24). There is one fact, however, that seems to be by no means obscure—Israel refused the sacred harlot and was thereby peculiar in her world. Here Hebraism contrasted with contemporary religion.

This assertion has sometimes been contradicted, but the evidence sustains it. The only suggestion of such a custom at a Hebrew shrine before the Kings is the reprobated conduct of those 'sons of Belial,' Hophni and Phinehas (1 Sam. ii. 12, 22). It was one of the things in which they knew 'not the Lord' and by whose 'iniquity' they 'did bring a curse upon themselves' (1 Sam. ii. 12, iii. 13). In their day Israel recognized it as a 'sin against Jehovah.' The history does not leave it doubtful how the Hebrew people had learnt the lesson; it was by the 'iniquity of Peor.'

The earlier account of this incident (Num. xxv. 1–5, JE) is broken off in favour of a later description (P) of the signal act of Aaron's grandson,

[1] e.g. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, pp. 206, 211, and Additional Note D; Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vi., pp. 672 ff. (G. A. Barton).

Phinehas, but it is long enough to show that the later sequel is appropriate. 'The people began to commit whoredom with the daughters of Moab; for they called the people unto the sacrifices of their gods.' The association of whoredom with foreign worship is simply taken for granted; to the Hebrew the two were indissoluble. Over against this kind of cult the judgement of Peor set the austere worship of Jehovah. Many later references show how the Lord's 'fierce anger' for Peor's double sin of apostasy and lewdness branded it with lasting shame (Hos. ix. 10; Deut. iv. 3; Ps. cvi. 28–30; Num. xxv. 4). 'To go a-whoring,' Israel's primitive metaphor for apostasy (Exod. xxxiv. 15; Num. xiv. 33), was more than metaphor; the sacred harlot distinguished the Canaanite and Moabite cults from the Hebrew.

Another illustration of this difference must not be omitted, though fully to discuss it would be to wander too far from the present subject.

The custom of sacred harlotry makes the gratification of lust a part of worship. In such cults three things are often found together—the sacred woman, the sacred tree, the sacred snake—emblems, perhaps, to the rude mind of birth, life, death. Many examples can be found in the sculptures of India, both Buddhist and Hindu. The same association appears in various ancient Asiatic legends and in the story of Eden.

The Babylonian complexion of the last-named story is well known, but it has its characteristic 'difference.' Probably it had a long history before it reached Israel, and it may bear traces of the different stages of that history; but it is difficult

to exclude a reference to sex. But what is said of sex? Here, said other faiths, in the enjoyment of the sacred woman beneath the sacred tree, there is worship; no, said Hebraism, here is sin. A modern theorist might argue that logically the story does not distinguish between the right and the wrong use of sex, and that from it Hebraism ought to have gone on to teach the virtue of virginity, whereas actually it inculcated the worth of marriage. But early thought is rarely strictly logical. To the early Israelite the story of Eden would suggest a certain type of religious *cultus*, and he would draw an inevitable lesson. In the famous carvings on the Buddhist Tope at Sanchi, in Central India, there are multitudes of sacred harlots naked, but the writer did not note a single secular woman unclothed. Early Hebrew worship did not culminate in sex; Jehovah was one day to be thought of as His people's father, but not as physically so. Israel's faith had already two allied distinctions—not a god, but a man, was the racial ancestor; it abhorred the 'Kedeshah'[1] It may not be without meaning that of the four harlots named in pre-Monarchic times three at least—Rahab, the harlot of Gaza, and, if she were a harlot, Delilah—were aliens, or that the story of Tamar has a Canaanite environment. It is certain that the secular harlot was known in Israel, and probable that to visit one was not counted shameful; it is likely that Hebrews

[1] Cf. the writer's article in the *Journal of Theological Studies* (April, 1913, pp. 430 ff.) on 'Some Indian Parallels to Hebrew Cult.' In ancient Babylon every woman had to act as 'Kedeshah' at a shrine at least once before marriage (G. A. Barton, in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. viii. p. 469).

sometimes frequented the lustful worship of their neighbours; there may even have been a persistent attempt to introduce the sexual into Jehovah's cult[1]; against this, however, the better opinion of Israel was from the first protestant. Its refusal to make an orgy a part of religion was the first charter of womanhood. Until this had been won the progress of woman's emancipation was impossible, but, when once it is allowed that sexual use is not woman's chief religious value, it may come to be seen that neither is it her chief purpose outside religion, for a people and its god tend always to be alike. A true doctrine of society builds on womanhood, and the true doctrine of womanhood began with the story of Eden.

The Slow Dawn of a Higher Concept

The two uses of woman just discussed—as means of lust and as means of children—have a common point of contrast with the opinion that makes her a person. For it she is an end, for them a tool. There is a clear though repulsive illustration of the latter concept in the story of Lot's commerce with his daughters (Gen. xix. 30 ff.). That this was counted an enormity is indeed implied, for Lot must needs be drunk before his daughters could compass their aim,[2]

[1] e.g. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. v., p. 662 (Kautzsch).

[2] This is true of the story as told in early Israel, whether a more primitive metronymy lurk in it or not. The concept that a woman was a tool is implied in other ways, too—in the twin stories of Lot in Sodom and the Levite in Gibeah a daughter's chastity is in her father's gift and may properly be surrendered to save a man's honour (Gen.

yet they did not shrink, for their supreme duty was to save their family from extinction; they must somehow be mothers, and so serve woman's end. All the instances given above of the opinion that woman's use was motherhood illustrate her 'tool value' in a more normal way (pp. 31 ff.). Again, the story of the world's beginning current in early Israel made woman but a 'help-meet' for man (Gen. ii. 18), and in the Book of the Covenant it is taken for granted that a father might sell his daughter as a slave (Exod. xxi. 7). In theory woman was principally a tool.

It must be remembered, however, that, though the personality of woman was not yet recognized, she shared the disability with all others except the head of the house (*B. D. S.*, pp. 15, 76 ff.). Again, there were women—as Sarah, Jael, and Deborah—who asserted their 'individuality' in spite of the temper of the age. The instance of Deborah is specially striking. Were there any other anticipations of the recognition of the personality of woman?

The story of Tamar admits that a woman has rights that she may 'righteously' assert even against the head of a tribe himself (Gen. xxxviii. 26; cf. Exod. xxi. 10). It is true that the right in question was only the right to be a mother, but a mere tool has no rights at all. Again, while among the early Semites a husband might for various reasons admit another man to his bed—

xix. 8; Judges xix. 24); again, the law that forbade illicit intercourse with a freeman's daughter protected rather her father's rights than her own (Exod. xxii. 16 f.); though a girl's predilection might sometimes be considered in the choice of her husband (Gen. xxiv. 58; Ruth iii. 10), yet the decision rested with the head of the house.

particularly that his wife might bring him a 'goodly seed'[1]—there is no hint of this in Israel, and the Seventh Commandment expressly forbade it. The 'Book of the Covenant,' too, once or twice puts a woman's rights beside a man's (Exod. xxi. 20, 26 f., 28 f.; cf. Joshua xvii. 6, and 16 below). And there are three other less dim tokens of dawn,—Israel, like the nomad, gave personal freedom to women; it refused to allow them a false kind of independence; it gave a mother a high status. These three phenomena need rather closer attention.

Both the Patriarchal stories and the narratives of the later pre-Monarchic period show that Hebrew women appeared in public and held free intercourse with men. Sarah, Rebekah, Jacob's wives and his daughter Dinah, Miriam, Deborah, Jael, Manoah's wife, Hannah, Naomi, and Ruth—all these mingled unreservedly with men; Moses and Saul both greeted strange maidens by a village well (Exod. ii. 16 ff.; 1 Sam. ix. 11); a woman combatant cracked Abimelech's skull (Judges ix. 53 ff.); the daughters of Israel met her warriors to chant their victories (Exod. xv. 20; Judges xi. 34; 1 Sam. xviii. 6 f.).

This freedom may mean either of two things—that there was a low standard of womanly virtue or that there was a high one—and it is not possible clearly to show which obtained in early Israel. The rarity of adultery points one way, the laxity of nomad morals the other.[2] But the habit of liberty does at least leave the door open for the development of a pure and lofty

[1] Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, p. 139 f.

[2] Cf. pp. 34 f., and Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, p. 139 f

doctrine of woman's personality, and how much the keeping of this door open means for a progressive race those know who have observed the Mohammedan custom of 'purdah' at close quarters. That system assumes two things—that men and women look at each other only with one idea,[1] and that women will not protect their own virtue. It reduces woman to sex. Israel began its history free of this deadly doctrine, and never accepted it. The current code of behaviour admitted, indeed, acts that modern polish finds coarse (e.g. Num. xii. 14; Ruth iii. 7 ff.), but a nation's manners are not always a sure guide to its morality any more than a man's countenance to his character. The free intercourse of man and woman meant that the personality of woman was not finally denied.[2]

There is, however, such a thing for women as a spurious independence, and in ancient times there were often two ways to it. The courtesan and the perpetual virgin might be not only sacred, but free. The Code of Hammurabi illustrates this for the latter, the shrine of Artemis at Ephesus or of Aphrodite at Corinth for the former. Israel, refusing the sacred harlot as already shown (pp. 38 ff.), refused, too, the sacred virgin. That is to say, it never dethroned motherhood. Almost all other peoples have some time or other elevated virginity into

[1] e.g. Akbar the Great once caught a favourite wife smiling at his son Salim and had her buried alive! He assumed that the smile could only mean one thing, nor was he wrong, for a system that treats women as merely sexual tends to make them so. A harem is the system's utter practice.

[2] Woman's responsibility as the keeper of property may be noted in passing (Judges xvii. 2 ff.).

perfection, but this is to depreciate family life, and in theory to destroy society. Any one who will peruse the regulations of Hammurabi for the protection of the 'votary,' or religious virgin, and consider their implied admiration for her calling, will perceive the importance of Israel's rejection of it.[1] Hebrew religion declined two opposite errors—it sanctified neither licence nor virginity, but held firmly to its family ideal. For it no man was prosperous without a home, no woman blessed except the wife and mother. It meant much for the ultimate evolution of a true idea of woman's place and worth that Israel avoided at this time both these pitfalls. To shun false ideas left the way open to the true.

For if these two particulars—woman's sharing in the free intercourse of daily life and the refusal of the 'kedeshah' and the sacred virgin—be put together, a negative preparation for the solution of the real problem of womanhood appears. For this problem is, How may woman be fully a person and remain a wife? How may her individuality be recognized without the surrender of home? Historically this has been a pressing part of the wider theoretical question, How may *any one*, man or woman, be at once a full person and a part of a family? Early Israel, in avoiding errors, was preparing to answer it.

[1] The Code of Hammurabi is translated by C. H. W. Johns in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. v. For womanhood see §§ 110, 127, 144–147, 178–182. The 'vowed woman' is also named in §§ 180, 181, 187, 192 f. Johns assumes that this is the same as the 'votary' (*op. cit.* v., p. 591), but §§ 179 f. seem to distinguish them. As it is assumed that a 'vowed woman' might have children (§§ 192 f.), is she not rather to be identified with the sacred harlot? The virginity of the 'votary' was very jealously guarded (§ 110).

Nor was the preparation altogether negative. Within the home wife and mother in some ways had already the status of persons. The Patriarchal story gives each wife, and sometimes each concubine, her own 'tent' as her proper sphere, and makes her supreme within it.[1] She had authority, though of narrow scope; she was not a mere tool. And, while no doubt in theory she and her 'tent' were part of her husband's property, yet the lists of Patriarchal possessions represent the 'house' always by 'menservants and maidservants,' never by 'wives and children,' as though it were already felt that there was a difference between the latter and other property. Again, a free woman, sold into slavery, retained the right to be a wife or to go free (Exod. xxi. 7-11). Not a wife's status, however, but a mother's, approached nearest to the explicit admission of woman's individuality, for a mother was still less thought of as a mere possession. Every child's earliest habit is dependence upon its mother, but under polygamy this develops in a particular way. Each wife, with her family, is rival of every other; each child's interests, as over against those of other wives' children, centres in his mother;[2] her single aim is to secure her own sons' 'rights' (Gen. xxi. 10), and especially that one of them—and the one whom she chooses (Gen. xxvii. 6 ff.)—shall

[1] Gen. xvi. 6, xviii. 9 ff., xxiv. 67, xxx. 3, 15 ff., xxxi. 33; cf. Judges iv. 17.

[2] Gen. xxi. 9 ff., xxiv. 36, xxv. 6, xxxi. 16. Cf. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, p. 167. Polygamy promotes, too, a peculiarly close bond between uterine brothers and sisters; Gen. xxxiv. 25, and perhaps Judges viii. 19.

succeed his father as head of the house.[1] Most of the texts that illustrate this belong to the Patriarchal story, because it most intimately portrays family life; but the phenomenon is inherent in polygamy, and the later history is not without it. This everywhere assumes in particular a mother's identification of her fortunes with those of her children—in the stories, for instance, of Jephthah's outlawry and Micah's curse (Judges xi. 2, xvii. 1 ff.), in the jealousies of Hannah and Peninnah, in Naomi's simple diplomacy to secure Ruth a husband and herself an heir, and in the eagerness of Sisera's mother for news of his triumph (Judges v. 28 ff.). Polygamy is naturally factious and as naturally develops a boy's dependence on his mother This dependence is not wholly ignoble. In early Israel, when a son entered upon the family inheritance at his father's death, his mother, and not his wife, became mistress of his household and the trusted adviser of the family's head. Micah's mother is a good instance (Judges xvii.). Naomi, when males failed in her family, even ranked as its head. The 'Book of the Covenant' forbade the smiting or cursing of mother as well as of father, under penalty of death (Exod. xxi. 15, 17), and the Fifth Commandment ran, 'Honour thy father *and thy mother*.' Neither code gives such prominence to any other woman. The period's signal illustration of motherhood, however, remains; were not Hannah and Samuel in a compact whose third party was God (1 Sam. i. 28, ii. 18 ff.)? No elucidation of primitive

[1] An unmarried daughter, too, belonged to her 'mother's house' (Gen. xxiv. 28; Ruth i. 8).

custom can rob this story of its tenderness. In a son's relation to his mother, free from the first of physical desire, there began to be the recognition of woman's individual worth. Her status as person grew out of her use as mother. Deborah, the person *par excellence* among early Hebrew women, was called 'a mother in Israel.' She was a mother to her people. The Bible nowhere makes a mother a mere tool.

Again, nature never succumbs to human theory, and the stories of the Patriarchs and of the Judges show that often between man and woman or between woman and woman, as well as between man and man, there was the real fellowship that is only possible between persons. Most of the early heroines of Israel—Sarah, Rachel, Miriam, Jephthah's daughter, Hannah, Naomi, Ruth—were persons, spite the thrall of use (pp. 43 f). They were also ministers of home. No other epoch of Israel has so many eminent women, and their eminence was just of this kind—it united home with personality. In Israel, the people for whom social doctrine was always derivative from religion (*B. D. S.*, *passim*), the characteristic illustration is religious. In the story both of the Patriarchs and of the Judges an obscure woman holds direct communion with the 'angel of the Lord' (Gen. xvi. 7 ff.; Judges xiii. 3 ff.). A religious nation, admitting this, must at last avow woman's intrinsic worth.

Still, for the present and for ages to come, woman was held of less worth than man. The law required only that 'every male' should appear before God at the great feasts (Exod. xxiii.

17); to die by a woman's hand was a dire disgrace (Judges iv. 9, ix. 54); mothers themselves desired a *man* child (1 Sam. i. 11, iv. 20). The women, like the other members of the household, were as yet but a part of the family; only its head as such was fully a person (*B. D. S.*, p. 78), and, unless all males failed, its head was always a man. For the current thought of the first historical epoch of Israel woman was principally a means of children and home.

III

ISRAEL UNDER THE KINGS—THE TYPE OF JEZEBEL

Stagnation and Decay

None of the greater heroines of Israel belongs to the Monarchy. Earlier times had their Rachel, their Deborah, and their Ruth, later their Esther and their Judith, but the great women of the two kingdoms were Jezebel and Athaliah! This gives the key to the study of the position of women under the Israelite kings. Theory was stagnant, practice declined.

Of the gradually lowering level of practice a principal illustration is the spread of adultery. It was probably rare in earlier days (pp. 34 f.), but the Prophets' denunciations of it show that in the Monarchy it was common. It was the sin of the kingdom's founder (2 Sam. xi. 4 ff.); Deuteronomy, unlike Exodus, laid down a penalty for it (Deut. xxii. 22); from the first it was rife in the cities, which arose in Israel with the Monarchy (*B. D. S.*, pp. 106 ff.); it seems at length to have spread also to the country (Jer. xxiii. 10); a single text sums the last issue; 'How can I pardon thee? Thy children have forsaken Me, and sworn by them that are no gods; when I had fed them to the full, they committed adultery, and assembled themselves in troops at the harlots'

houses. They were as fed horses in the morning; every one neighed after his neighbour's wife.'[1]

Again, while the uniform use by the Prophets of 'harlot' (זָנָה) as a term of shame shows that the process begun in the preceding period (pp. 36 ff.) had been completed, and that a harlot had altogether ceased to be counted a 'respectable' woman, yet the practice still prevailed.[2] Further, a series of passages shows that throughout the Monarchy a repeated and sometimes a successful attempt was made to associate the temple-prostitute, both male (קָדֵשׁ) and female (קְדֵשָׁה), with the worship of Jehovah. The passages imply that the practice had been learnt from the Canaanites, that it was connected with the 'Asherah' or wooden figure of some sexual sort, that it was followed on 'every high hill and under every green tree,' and that more than once it infested the Temple itself, but also that the better kind of Hebrew never forgot that the custom was alien to the worship of Israel, and that his protests were vigorous and sometimes effective.[3] His leaders were the Prophets and Deuteronomists, and in the end they won the battle, for even those who claim, in face of all the biblical evidence, that this foul practice was at one time followed without protest at the shrines of Jahveh, admit that it did not revive after the Exile. It is almost certain, however,

[1] Jer. v. 7 f.; cf. Hos. iv. 2, vii. 4; Jer. vii. 9. ix. 2, xiii. 27, xxiii. 14 xxix. 23; Ezek. xviii. 6 ff., xxii. 11. See also Additional Note 1.

[2] e.g. Amos vii. 17; Hos. iv. 11; Isa. i. 21; Mic. i. 7; Nahum iii. 4; Jer. iii. 1 ff.; Ezek. xvi. 15; cf. 1 Kings iii. 16; Prov. xxv. 27 f., xxix. 3; Deut. xxii. 21.

[3] e.g. Hos. iv. 14, ix. 9 ff., x. 9; Deut. xxiii. 17 f.; Jer. ii. 20, xiii. 27; 1 Kings xiv. 24, xv. 12 f., xxii. 46; 2 Kings xxiii. 7; cf. pp. 36 ff.

that the fusion of the Canaanite and Israelite races in a single people degraded the Hebrew treatment of women.[1] Ezekiel's two tremendous descriptions of Israel's apostasy as 'whoredom' base on the fact that at the 'high places' of alien gods harlotry was worship (Ezek. xvi. and xxiii. cf. viii. 14).

These, however, are points of practice. The current *ideal* of womanhood does not seem to have varied much from that of the preceding epoch. The Hebrew notion of prosperity still included a home full of children, and woman was still thought of primarily, neither as means of lust nor as an independent person, but as means of offspring. A few tokens of this may be named. Law still provided as far as possible for the perpetuation of families by the institution of the Levirate marriage (Deut. xxv. 5 ff.), and this, whether it were a relic of ancient polyandry or not, made a wife the family's tool; a Deuteronomic proof of the Lord's love ran, 'He will also bless the fruit of thy body';[2] Jeremiah pictured a messenger carrying tidings of his birth to his father, 'making him very glad' (Jer. xx. 15), and Isaiah's image of utter desolation was that the shame of celibacy should fall upon the multitude of the women of a nation bereft of its men (Isa. iv. 1). Again, the idea that a husband's utmost humiliation was to be robbed of his wife[3] shows, indeed, that she was

[1] That the Israelite standard was in general higher than the Canaanite seems to be implied in 2 Sam. xiii. 12; cf. *B. D. S.*, pp. 17 ff.

[2] Deut. vii. 13, cf. xxii. 21, xxviii. 11, 18, xxx. 9.

[3] 2 Sam. xii. 11; 1 Kings xx. 3; Deut. xxviii. 30; Jer. vi. 12, vii. 10. That a wife might return to her husband from another's house appears from 2 Sam. iii. 13 ff. Contrast Ezek. xliv. 22, but cf. Judges xix. 3

principal among his possessions, but also that she was still a possession, an item in his house.

Still, again as in the previous period, there are some slight anticipations of the recognition of woman's personality. For example, death was appointed to the adulterer as well as to the adultress (Deut. xxii. 22–27; cf. Additional Note 1), an equality seldom decreed even in Christian jurisprudence. It is true that in the context of this law there is a passage that distinguishes penalties in favour of a male culprit (Deut. xxii. 19, 21), and two that treat a daughter as her father's property (vv. 19, 29), but there is another that asserts a woman's right to 'the benefit of the doubt' (vv. 25 ff.). Here it is not the inconsistency that is remarkable, for this afflicts all legal codes in their treatment of woman, but the partial acknowledgement of woman's worth. Deuteronomy has other assertions of her rights (Deut. xxi. 10 ff., 15 ff.), and another book has hints that a woman's choice was still sometimes considered in the selection of her husband (1 Sam. xviii. 20 f.; xxv. 39 ff.) Again, it is still assumed that upon a husband's death his widow, in the absence of adult heirs, became head of the house,[1] and women for the most part still shared with men the right and responsibility of worship.[2] Israelite women still mingled quite freely with men in everyday life, and their

[1] e.g. 1 Kings xvii. 9; 2 Kings iv. 1 ff.; Prov. xv. 25; this agrees, too, with the Prophets' and lawgivers' frequent assertions of the rights of widows.

[2] e.g. Deut. xxix. 11, 18, xxxi. 12; 2 Kings xxii. 14; cf. Jer. xliv. 9–30. There is an exception in Deut. xvi. 16, for a universal gathering of women was impracticable.

influence upon public opinion may be gauged by Saul's alarm at their praise of David.[1]

Again, it was still sure to happen, as in all times and lands, that women of force of character would find scope to assert it. The Witch of Endor (1 Sam. xxviii.), Huldah the Prophetess (2 Kings xxii. 14), Abigail (1 Sam. xxv.), Michal (1 Sam. xix. 11 ff.), the two 'wise women' that adorn the story of Joab (2 Sam. xiv. 2 ff., xx. 16 ff.), the 'great woman' of Shunem (2 Kings iv. and viii.), are examples.[2] The last named in particular clearly swayed her husband as well as his house. Some of these had only local eminence, but this would be true also of many men of forceful character. There are signs, too, of the nobler kind of love between husband and wife,[3] while several passages in Proverbs—some about a woman's 'contentiousness,' others about her worth—witness that in the homes of the people she was often far from a mere tool.[4] On the whole, a fair field would have offered for the growth of a true concept of womanhood, had not Israelite practice been degraded and the development of Israelite theory delayed by the coming of the harem with the Monarchy.

The Curse of the Harem

In the East, to possess a numerous harem has always been a mark of royal magnificence.

[1] 1 Sam. xviii. 6 ff.; cf. 2 Sam. i. 20, 24. See also such texts as 1 Sam. xxv. 3 ff.; 2 Sam. vi. 20 ff., xvii. 17 ff.; 2 Kings iv. 23 ff., vi. 26.

[2] For a humble woman at a post of trust see 2 Sam. iv. 6 marg.

[3] e.g. 2 Sam. i. 26, iii. 16; cf. Hos. ii. 16.

[4] Prov. xi. 16, 20, xii. 4, xiv. 1, xviii. 22, xix. 13 f., xxi. 9, 19, xxvii. 15 f.; cf. Mic. vii. 6; Jer. xliv. 9 ff.

Saul seems to have escaped the tyranny of this rule,[1] but David succumbed to it. He had six wives already in Hebron, and took other 'concubines and wives' in Jerusalem (2 Sam. iii. 2 ff., v. 13 f.). His successors followed his example. Deuteronomy, here as elsewhere, would fain have restrained the Hebrew Monarchy's splendour (Deut. xvii. 17), and the compiler of Kings traced Solomon's partial apostasy to his Canaanite and foreign wives (1 Kings xi. 3), but, in contrast, the earlier historian clearly regarded David's harem as an item in his glory (2 Sam. iii. 2 ff., v. 13 f.), and this was no doubt the current opinion in Israel. Other Oriental traits appear in the use of inter-marriage between royal houses to cement political alliance (1 Kings iii. 1, xvi. 31; 2 Kings viii. 18; cf. 1 Kings xi. 19), and in the control of the king's harem, as of other homes, not by a wife but his mother.[2] Further, the possession of the harem, in Israel as elsewhere, was a usual proof of rule.[3] Absalom's commerce with his father's concubines is a glaring instance.

This example illustrates one of the harem's evils—a son succeeded to his father's wives with his kingdom.[4] But it also takes the lowest view of woman—it treats her as a tool of lust. No doubt the fiction was maintained that the harem

[1] 1 Sam. xiv. 50; cf., however, 2 Sam. xxi. 8 ff.

[2] e.g. 1 Kings, i. 11, ii. 13, 18, xv. 13; Ps. xlv. 9 (cf. 13 f.); Jer. xiii. 18. On a king's accession the name, not of a wife, but of his mother is regularly given.

[3] 2 Sam. iii. 7, xii. 8, 11, xv. 16, xvi. 21 f., xx. 3; 1 Kings ii. 21 f.; Jer. xxxviii. 22.

[4] It may be that this was the survival among kings of a custom formerly more widely spread. Cf. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, p. 110 (quoting Deut. xxii. 30; Ezek. xxii. 10). Cf. 2 Sam. iii. 6 ff.

was meant to secure the king an heir, but David, for instance, added to his wives after the birth of several sons. The pitiful story of his later Court—of Amnon, of Absalom, of Adonijah—is just a study in the harem. At the time when the degradation of the status of harlotry was contemning the meanest use of woman in one of its forms, the harem introduced it in another. The rulers no doubt imitated the royal example of polygamy and concubinage, and these uses, perhaps for the first time (p. 32), became common in Israel. The poor man, though in practice he could only afford one wife, would think of the ownership of many as a desirable thing. Probably the institution of the Monarchy delayed the evolution of the esteem of monogamy in Israel for centuries.

Further, the harem always tends to give woman herself a false ambition. The luxury of the royal wives, and their real, though indirect, influence at Court, makes a position there the secret desire of many who can never attain it, and to be the toy of a rich man's lust becomes a girl's ambition. The idleness and luxury of the Hebrew Court ladies and that child of these two, their cruelty, appear in more than one passage. Amos' delineation of them is typical: 'Ye cows of Bashan that are in the mountain of Samaria, which oppress the poor, which crush the needy, which say unto their lords, Bring, and let us drink'[1] This is a normal Nemesis of the harem.

There is another usual consequence that almost ruined Israel. Excluded from legitimate

[1] Amos. iv. 1 ff.; cf. Isa. iii. 16 ff., iv. 4, xxxii. 9 ff.; Mic. vii. 10; Deut. xxviii. 56 ff.; Jer. ix. 20 f.

use, the ability of woman finds scope in illegitimate; where the West rejoices in the rule of a Queen Victoria, the East submits to such an one as the late Empress-Dowager of China. How often has a brilliant and resolute woman, ruler first in the harem, usurped through it the despotism of a realm! The history of Israel has two great examples—Jezebel and Athaliah. These are the ablest women of the Hebrew Monarchy. The two, the mother in the north, the daughter in the south, mark the crisis in the struggle between Jehovah and Baal. Their stories illustrate, too, the constant danger lest Israel should become altogether like the common despotisms of the East. The injustice of such despotisms, their arrogance, their vindictiveness, their cruelty, their sheer selfishness, all appear in this pair of brilliant women. The adoption of the harem by a nation's kings does not at first seem likely to affect its fate, but in history disaster dogs error. Even Elijah cowered before Jezebel! No wonder that, after the too nearly successful attempts of these two aliens upon the Hebrew faith, the Deuteronomist insisted, 'One from among thy brethren shalt thou set king over thee; thou mayest not put a foreigner over thee' (Deut. xvii. 15). A nation's treatment of woman goes far to make or mar its destiny. The Hebrew Monarchy degraded her; her revenge was Jezebel.

The Omission of the Prophets

A quite extraordinary feature of the story of womanhood in Israel remains to be named—

of all 'social questions' marriage was least influenced by religion. In particular, as yet religion had no message of monogamy. Deuteronomy secured, indeed, the rights of the less beloved of a bigamist's wives, set some limits to divorce,[1] and deprecated a king's multiplication of wives (Deut. xxi. 15 ff., xxiv. 1 f., xvii. 17), but of the Prophets, the makers in other ways of a new and higher ideal, it cannot here be said that they had one word of progress. They insisted on the old duties, and gibbeted the flagrant breaches of the old morality that multiplied as the Monarchy wore on (pp. 50 ff.), but with that they stayed. No man nor set of men can do everything. It was possible at the very close of the Monarchy that Jeremiah should picture Jehovah as a husband with two wives (Jer. iii. 6 ff.; cf. Ezek. xxiii). The epoch that on other sides yielded most to the social ideal of Israel was barren for the doctrine of womanhood.

[1] Deut. xxiv. 1 f. is the first mention of divorce by name in the Hebrew documents. Probably, however, Abraham's dismissal of Hagar is an earlier instance. It illustrates the ease with which a husband could divorce his wife. A wife, it seems certain, could not divorce her husband at all. There is no historical evidence to show whether divorce was common or rare in early Israel. The custom of polygamy would tend to lessen the number of its instances. The Deuteronomic law required that it be a legal and premeditated act, and that it have better grounds than caprice.

IV

ISRAEL AFTER THE KINGS—THE TYPE OF SHULAMMITH

The Survival of Old Ideas

After the Exile the full idea of the worth of the individual and the clear recognition of the duty of the love of 'my neighbour' developed in Israel (*B. D. S.*, ch. iv.). In this period, too, the principles that underlie these phrases were applied to the problem of womanhood. In consequence the noble and final notion of woman's worth now first became current; for the first time common thought treated her rather as a person than as an item of property.

Yet it must again be remembered that on this subject the practice of societies has often reached its maximum of inconsistency. Also, while other principles have needed long stretches of time to find full application in life, none has so slowly evolved as this one. In earlier Hebrew epochs, while current opinion made woman means of children, there had yet been traces of the other two notions—so now, though the true opinion began to 'come to its own' and the merely lustful use lost all countenance, there were still practices that treated woman as man's tool. Indeed, the habit has not altogether disappeared to-day. Here conservatism reaches

its climax. Yet the Post-Monarchic period of Israel saw the disappearance of all sanction of the lowest opinion about woman, and won its way to the highest.

Two of the earlier anticipations of the true opinion were the admission of women to the worship of Jehovah and their indirect influence on 'affairs.' Both these survived the Exile. Some illustrations may be given. The Books of Chronicles admit Heman's 'three daughters' as well as his 'fourteen sons' to the Temple ministry of song, and a woman as well as a man might become a Nazirite;[1] the earlier apostasy of Israel having been largely due to the influence of women, there was now a strict rule of endogamy;[2] as the histories of Jezebel and Athaliah had earlier shown the harem's evil uses, so now the story of Esther showed its possible dedication to the purposes of the Lord (Esther iv. 14). Indeed, the whole Book of Esther tells of the power of women—of Vashti's ill example, of Esther's sway of an empire through its lord, of Zeresh's 'coaching' of Haman (Esther v. 14, vi. 13). The last detail matches another writer's masterly introduction of Job's wife to complete his trial (Job ii. 9 f.). Koheleth, too, as other misanthropes, has a special fling at women which admits their power while it gibbets their fame (Eccles. vii. 26, 28).

On the other side, there are still regulations that set a special value on males, both animals

[1] 1 Chron. xxv. 5 f. (cf. Neh. vii. 67); Num. vi. 2; cf. Exod. xxxv. 22, 25 f., 29; Lev. x. 14; Num. v. 6, xxx. 3–16; Zech. xii. 12–14; 2 Chron. xv. 3; Neh. viii. 12, x. 28, xii. 43.

[2] e.g. Ezra ix. and x.; Neh. xiii. 23 ff.; cf. Lev. xviii. 24; xxiv. 10 ff.; Num. xxxi. 15 ff.

and men[1]; when there is mention of a census—apart from the enumeration of the returning exiles, which includes even their beasts of burden (Ezra ii. 64 ff.)—it is to be taken 'according to the number of the names, every male,'[2] the implication being that woman belongs to man. Two other instances are named below (pp 67 f.) So far the evidence only repeats the past.[3]

Personality within Home

But three great passages exhibit the nobler opinion. One of these is the explicit statement in the story of creation that woman as well as man is made in the divine image: 'And God created man in His own image, in the image of God created He him, male and female created He them' (Gen. i. 27; cf. v. 2). The change is clear from the older viewpoint of the Jahvist's account of Creation, for there woman is created only for the convenience of man (Gen. ii. 18 ff.). From the assertion of her likeness to God all else was sure ultimately to follow, for personal inferiority cannot permanently belong to one made in His image. Here falls Malachi's declaration that God hates 'divorce' (Mal. ii. 16)—a declaration that was the Old Testament end of a long process (p. 58, footnote 1; cf. Lev. xxi. 7, 14).

The second passage is of a different kind. It is the description of the Jewish ideal woman in the last chapter of Proverbs (Prov. xxxi. 10–31).

[1] Lev. i. 3, 10, iv. 23, 28, xii. 2, 5, xxii. 19, xxvii. 1–8; Mal. i. 14. Only men could be priests (Lev. vi. 18, 29); cf. Neh. v. 5; Esther i. 16 ff.

[2] Num. i. 2 f., iii. 15, 40; Ezra viii. 4 ff.

[3] See also Additional Note 1.

This assumes that the perfect woman will indeed be a wife, but by no means a tool. Rather her activities are here so manifold that one wonders what there was left for her husband to do! He appears only as 'trusting in her,' as 'praising her,' as sitting complacently 'in the gate,' proud of being the husband of such a paragon! Nor in this picture is woman's duty confined to the home: 'She considereth a field and buyeth it; with the fruit of her hands she planteth a vineyard'; she traffics, too, with 'the merchant.' What more was there for a man to do in the 'cribbed' and 'cabined' days that followed the Exile (*B. D. S.*, pp. 189 ff.; cf. Neh. iii. 12)? From the point of view of the husbandman—and this is the one in question—the perfect woman was a complete person, her husband's 'help-meet' and not his tool. Could this 'manager of matters' be any man's tool? There is here no hint of lust, nor anything of child-bearing. It is implied, indeed, that there were children in the perfect home, but to bear them is no more a wife's primary use. The reader, too, unconsciously assumes that in this house there was only one wife; the picture has no room for a 'rival.' Again, just because the 'help-meet' is so perfectly mistress, she is the perfect servant of her household's welfare. The typical Hebrew woman, that is, knew the right use of the privilege of responsibility (*B. D. S.*, pp. 168 ff.). Where she ruled, every one was busy and happy and well. How refreshing a contrast to the sultry languor and subtle intrigue of the harem!

This picture, however, is prosaic, and has

no hint of that mysterious thing which another observer of the time quaintly calls ' the way of a man with a maid.' The Wise Man's frugal dame would seem incapable of ' falling in love.' Yet, unless this is to be banned as in itself evil, a complete social theory must take account of it. The Bible boldly includes a love-song. The third great passage for the personality of woman is the Song of Songs.

In the West this book tends to be ' taboo ' for its lack of reticence, yet this does it injustice. A true comparison is not with English love-songs—though epithalamia with as little reserve could be found in that language—but with those of the East. Then the Song's distinction is not what it says, but what it leaves unsaid. For instance, in the Gita Govinda, long since printed beside it by Adam Clarke, the ostensible climax, however mystic the interpretation, is a description of the actual nuptial couch. Besides, it is impossible that a practice be inherently vicious in one art yet justifiable in another, and to-day's canon allows in painting a liberty equal to the Song's in literature. The true justification of reticence in either art is the principle of Accommodation. It is wise to abstain from that which in itself is innocent if its abuse unto sin be likely. If silence were itself virtuous, and so more than a *means* to purity, celibacy would be the logical issue. Different peoples have used different degrees of reticence. The English standard to-day is less strict than yesterday. This is not the place to argue what degree of silence and speech is best, nor whether an individual ought ever to violate a current standard. It is enough

to note that a difference in the standard of reticence need not mean a lower standard of virtue. The means is not the end. Paul's dictum applies to the Song of Songs: 'To the pure all things are pure.' The true arrangement of the poem gives three principal *Dramatis personae*—Solomon, a shepherd, Shulammith (or the Shulammite)—the two first wooing the third, who consistently prefers the shepherd to the king.[1] Under this arrangement the two passages that show least reserve—though they still observe the Eastern limit of proper speech—belong to Solomon, and poetically portray that low estimate of womanhood's use which the harem illustrates, but which the author declares that a true woman will disdain.

And here lies the real significance of the Song. So long as the Monarchy lasted it was all but inevitable that the popular notion of a woman's highest place should be at the head of a royal harem, and that monogamy should be counted the plight of the poor. But there was now no king in Israel. It was, indeed, possible, as the Book of Esther shows, that a Jewess should become the chief of an emperor's many wives, but this possibility was remote even in the Dispersion, while in Palestine the story of Esther could only be a distant tale. Hebrew thought had an opportunity to escape from the harem's ill toils. This opportunity was greatly used. In the Gita Govinda the heroine submits at last to be the favourite among a god's many wives, for this was the highest ideal of the poet and his

[1] See, for instance, Rothstein's article 'Song of Songs' in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*.

age, but the one *motif* of the Song of Songs is to display a nobler aim. The charms of the palace are depicted and the glories of a monarch's principal bride; the enhancement is added that the monarch is Israel's own mightiest king, Solomon himself; yet it is declared that wholeheartedly to love an absent shepherd surpasses it all. Once in set terms the old glory of pre-eminence in the harem is set down: 'There are threescore queens, and fourscore concubines, and maidens without number. My dove, my perfect one, is one. . . . The daughters saw her and called her blessed; yea, the queens and the concubines; and they praised her' (Song of Songs vi. 8 f.). In other words, Solomon is pictured as offering the Shulammite that which both he, and the ladies of his harem, and the old opinion of women, all held a woman's supreme bliss—to be *the one* among a king's many wives.[1] He and they could not even understand a woman's desiring anything else. But it was refused. Here it is peculiarly difficult for the modern West, with its long experience of monogamy, to think itself into the position of the ancient East, with its interminable habit of polygamy, yet only if this be done can the superb achievement of the race that produced and canonized the Song of Songs be understood. Other Hebrew stories of women tell of the exceptional—neither Deborah, the saviour of Israel, for instance, nor Ruth, whose seed was David, stands for mere womanhood—but the Shulammite remains a

[1] Compare the Malay mother's advice to her daughter in Conrad's *Almayer's Folly*: 'As long as he looks upon many women your power will last, but should there be one, one only with whom he seems to forget you . . . to that woman show no mercy.'

village maiden to the end. Nor does her shepherd lover turn out at last to be some princeling in disguise. She and he wander away to the pleasant hills at the close of her temptation, nameless peasants still. Her constancy is the Bible's assertion that in the true love of man and woman there is that which transcends all things that can be seen. The Song of Songs is a definition of a 'sweetheart'; it is the joyful knell of lust in the home, the charter of the nobility of wedded love. To the blandishments of a king the simple answer suffices, 'I am my beloved's, and his desire is towards me' (Song of Songs, vii. 10). 'Love is strong as death' (Song of Songs, viii. 6),—how tawdrily a palace dazzles beside this! Christendom owes this book a debt unawares. The Song of Songs is the revelation of the purity that is as little ascetic as wanton; it unveils the secret of home. Lo, home at its highest is no king's monopoly, but the boon of common men. In every true marriage the Shulammite triumphs over Solomon again.

Yet there had been something true even in the earliest opinion about woman, and this did not perish. The opinion that woman is the tool of lust was, of course, still altogether reprobated,[1] yet virginity had no praise. The story of Creation and the Song of Songs imply, each in its own way, the legitimacy, in subordination, of the natural appetite of sex, while the Wise Man's description of the perfect woman

[1] Lev. xix. 29; cf. Num. xxv. 6 ff.; Job xxxi. 1; Joel iii. 3. Harlotry, of course, was not extinct in practice, though condemned by theory.

assumes it as tacitly yet as really as a Christian marriage rite. The Old Testament has no sanction for celibacy; its priests married, and even its typical ascetic, the Nazirite, was commanded other abstinences than this. There was a long Christian epoch that found it necessary to interpret the Song of Songs 'mystically,' but the logic of that age's ascetic ideal was just 'race suicide.' Israelite prosperity, on the contrary, in every epoch centred in home.[1]

So, while what was good in the lowest opinion about women survived, that opinion itself perished. It was otherwise with the estimate that made her but means of children. This lingered still alongside the highest of her values. For instance, polygamy was still permissible. It was impossible that a practice of the Patriarchs and other ancient Hebrew heroes be suddenly and plainly condemned. The distinction between wives implied by the term 'concubines' also remained.[2] Yet for this period Israelite polygamy has to be deduced from the implications of the documents. All the instances actually named are of ancient heroes and kings.[3] Again, the very text that most clearly implies the practice puts a limit upon it,—'Thou shalt not take a woman to her sister, to be a rival to her . . . beside the other in her lifetime' (Lev. xviii. 18). Here the evil 'rivalry' that inevitably attends polygamy is frankly admitted,[4] and it is plain that, though its bitterness as

[1] Cf. Isa. lxii. 4 f.; Ps. lxxviii. 63 f.

[2] Lev. xix. 20; 1 Chron. iii. 9, &c.

[3] e.g. 1 Chron. i. 32, ii. 3 f.; 2 Chron. xi. 21, xiii. 21. Contemporary instances occur in Daniel and Esther for foreign kings.

[4] Cf. Prov. xxxi. 3; Dan. xi. 37.

between two sisters might justify exceptional treatment, yet the prohibition introduced a broader principle. Further, the very practice of one of the Patriarchs, Jacob, is here forbidden. None of his descendants was now to imitate his marriage with Leah and Rachel. A vague sense, that is, of the evolution of social theory, whereby that which was once allowable might come to be banned, was now attained. Nor can concubinage have been common among the Jews at this time, for the number of bondwomen brought back from the Exile was small (Ezra ii. 64 f.), and the story of the period leaves no room for their subsequent multiplication, either by conquest or purchase. The Jew was too dependent and too poor to possess many wives. Probably, therefore, in practice, both by the experience of the woes of 'rivalry' and the necessities of their position, the Jews at this time approximated to monogamy. Still, among them as among some other races similarly placed, polygamy though rare was permitted,[1] and its justification was still no doubt the desire for a family. The value of womanhood as means of children survived beside the nobler opinion.[2]

Yet here, too, the Song of Songs anticipated the future. In its account of the constancy and subsequent bliss of the Shulammite there is no word of motherhood. A comparison with an earlier ideal woman, Ruth, shows what a

[1] The spread of divorce apparently implied by Malachi (Mal. ii. 14 ff.) is more likely where monogamy is the usual practice. Verse 15 is held by some to be an argument for it. A divorced wife might be taken back (Isa. liv. 6).

[2] e.g. Ps. lviii. 6, cxxvii. 3–5, cxxviii. 3, 6, cxliv. 12; Job xlii. 14 ff.; Eccles. ix. 9.

revolution this means.[1] The climax of Ruth's story is that she bore Boaz a son; the Shulammite was beloved, as she in turn loved, primarily for her own sake. She is treated as herself an end, a person. Yet, as in the story of Creation and the Wise Man's portrait of the virtuous woman, so in the Song of Songs the ideal woman is of course a wife. With the recognition of her personality there was conserved that which was of worth in the opinion that made her the means of children. The change tended, not to sever woman from man, but to make her his peer in their common sphere of home. In the last of Old Testament periods sins against it were still punishable by death (Additional Note 1). While in other legal systems this primitive penalty survived for treason—the murder of the State—the Hebrew retained it as well for the murder of the home.

Further, as this little people struggled towards the notion of the equality of two persons in one home, it was solving in a leading instance the final problem of sociology, the ' harmonizing ' of individualism and solidarity. Neither of these can reach its perfection unless the other reach it too. Woman must win personal rights without relinquishing the society wherein she had been a tool. Neither husband nor wife is to be the other's property, yet each is the other's need. A society that uses coercion limits some one's personality, but what place was there for coercion between the Shulammite and her beloved? The problem of the combination

[1] pp. 31 f.; cf. for this period Isa. liv. 1, 4; Ps. cxiii. 9; Prov. xxx. 16; Num. xxxvi.

of the rights of the individual and of society is that of the union of liberty and its limitation. Home, first of all human societies, found the answer—a person does not lose his freedom when he limits it for love of another. Love transfigures service into liberty. The Old Testament love-song presupposes unawares the principle of the final Christian ideal (chap. v.).

The Home and the Nation

How much the Hebrew home did for Israel between the Exile and the coming of Jesus can only be surmised, yet probably it can hardly be over-estimated. Amid the 'Dispersion' the national unity was maimed. The Jew who lived abroad could at best only hope to see Jerusalem once or twice in a life-time, and even in Palestine, especially as the limits of Israel again spread to Galilee, common worship at the Temple could only be occasional. The gathering of the whole scattered nation was quite impossible. The 'Dispersion' meant, too, the forgoing of a common government and of a national home. The preservation of the national life and of its peculiar religion fell, therefore, in a special way to the family. Both then and ever since the Hebrew home has proved equal to the task. Gradually, it is true, the Synagogue arose to supplement the Temple as means of worship, but the Synagogue had never the formal sanction of the Holy Books, and in reality it was just the gathering of the Hebrew families of a given locality for common worship. It built on the

home. The management of its affairs by elders and the democratic conduct of its services—where any Jew might take almost any part—both witness to the survival of the ideas underlying the old Democracy of Families.[1] Israel lived now by the religion of the home, and it could hardly have done so if it had not begun to give woman her true place beside her husband. Every Hebrew wife, as she watched the life of the alien woman, whether Babylonian, Egyptian, Syrian, Greek, or Roman, knew that for Israel to abandon Jehovah would mean the loss of Hebrew womanhood's high estate. No wonder she loved her faith and nurtured her children in it.[2] A nation's treatment of woman, often obscure in the retrospect of history, is none the less often decisive of its fortunes. It saved Israel now.[3]

One of the marks of the documents of the post-Monarchic period is the mingling of particularist and universalist ideas (*B. D. S.*, pp. 209–214). Over against the particularism of Nehemiah, for instance, there may be set the universalism of Deutero-Isaiah, over against the particularism of Esther the universalism of Jonah. Of these two the latter was alone consonant with the belief that Jahveh was the one God, and therefore God of the whole earth, and to this high creed Israel had at length

[1] *B. D. S.*, pp. 34–41, 110. The elders still ruled the Hebrew village—Ezra x. 14; Ps. cvii. 32; Prov. xxxi. 23.

[2] Similarly the relatively high position of woman in Zoroastrianism has probably had much to do with the survival of the Parsis as a distinct people in India.

[3] For the evidence of the Apocryphal and Apocalyptic Books on the subject of womanhood see Additional Note 2.

fully risen. It was now an axiom, not an argument. How, then, could particularism be justified at all? By the application of the principle of Accommodation. Israel at this time was not equal to the practice of her own ideal. Only the Holy Spirit brought the needed power, and His full coming waited for the coming of Jesus. Meanwhile Israel was like a beleagured army rather than a conquering one. It was all she could do to hold her own in her own tiny land. A temporary particularism was justifiable. In relation to the subject of this work it showed itself in Ezra and Nehemiah's policy of prohibiting 'mixed marriages,' and in their strenuous efforts to carry that policy out (Ezra. ix.; Neh. xiii. 23 ff.). The story of the way in which Gentile influence permeated Israel and threatened its very existence in the days before the Maccabees, is their vindication (cf. 1 Macc. i. 15). While 'mixed marriages' did not cease (e.g. Acts xvi. 1), on the whole the temper of Ezra and Nehemiah prevailed. Especially in the Dispersion the Jewish nation survived by the exclusiveness of its homes.

There is, however, a corresponding danger. Home becomes a hindrance rather than an aid to national life if allegiance to home take precedence of patriotism. Again, a nation loses when there are within it family cliques that make a state within a state, for the members of such groups will ever be tempted to subordinate the service of the nation to that of the clique. The Indian institution of caste is a great example. So, again, historians trace the quicker growth of national unity in England than in France to the

fact that in England there were never any impassable marriage barriers between the 'noble' and the 'commoner.' After the Exile the practice of free intermarriage within Israel counterbalanced the importance of the family and saved the little community from the clique. An exception illustrates the peril. The priests were forbidden intermarriage with other Israelites.[1] They were scattered in different parts of the land, yet, in spite of their matchless services to Israel under the Maccabees, they ultimately became a party within the commonwealth with aspirations and policies of its own. The 'high-priests' of Jesus' day did not represent, but 'managed,' the people.

Of the freedom of intermarriage within Israel outside the priestly caste there is implied evidence in the later of the two stories of the daughters of Zelophehad, for, while their special circumstance confined their choice of husbands to their own tribe, other women might wed any Israelite.[2] Besides, there is the Levitical law of 'forbidden degrees' (Lev. xviii. 6 ff.; cf. xx. 10 ff.). It is remarkable that the regulations of a people that still permitted polygamy should here have become the basis of the laws of Christendom, and perhaps equally remarkable that, at least in their main

[1] Lev. xxi. 14 f., where 'his own people' must mean the priestly tribe, for every Israelite was forbidden to marry an alien (Ezra ix. &c.); so the term 'stranger' (זָר) could be used of the non-Levite in Israel as over against the Levite (Num. i. 51, iii. 10, 38, xvi. 40, xviii. 4, 7).

[2] Num. xxvii. 1–11, xxxvi. This story was no doubt ancient, for it implies, not only that a wife's chief use was to bear children, but that the tribal unity was important (cf. Judges xxi. 7–12). At the same time there is a hint again that, in fact as distinct from law, women had something to say in the choice of their husbands (Num. xxxvi. 6); cf. pp. 42, 53.

outline, they should have become so much matter of course that it has long been their sufficient defence to say that they are 'natural.' But it is therefore the more necessary to recall that among the neighbouring Egyptians the marriage even of brother and sister was far from unknown, that within Israel itself the marriage of aunt and nephew and even of half-sister and half-brother had been admissible, and that one of the evils of the harem was a son's succession to his father's wives with his kingdom.[1] All these connexions were now forbidden, and perhaps in addition the old Levirate custom was falling into disuse.[2] But there is no prohibition of the intermarriage of Israelites whose families were not closely related. The justification of the whole practice of forbidding the marriage of near relatives is that it serves at once the home and the nation. It serves the home, for biologically it prevents the deterioration of type which follows the frequent inter-marriage within a few families that tends to obtain in such small communities as the Hebrew village, and it bans besides the promiscuity to which the Eastern family, wherever adult sons lived alongside slave-girls and 'concubines,' must always have been prone. It serves the nation, for the intermarriage of separate families is the cement of peoples. Israel survived at this time by keeping itself separate, as far as possible, from other peoples, and by nourishing its own unity

[1] Exod. vi. 20; Gen. xx. 12; 2 Sam. xvi. 22; cf. p. 68 for the principle here admitted.

[2] Lev. xviii. 16, xx. 21. It seems unlikely that in these passages alone is 'in his lifetime' to be understood, for when this is meant it is expressed (Lev. xviii. 18); yet cf. Mark xii. 18 ff.

(*B. D. S.*, pp. 184, 202 ff., 209 ff.). This showed itself in a wise prohibition of marriage outside its borders and a wise practice of intermarriage within them. Its laws tended, not to the exclusiveness, but to the union of its own families. So the home saved the nation.

The Rôles of Law and Religion

There remain to be noted the relations of law and religion respectively to the evolution of the personality of woman. Here systems of law tend to lag behind public opinion. This is not unreasonable if the gap be not too great, for, when a new ideal begins to supersede an old one, before law conform to it some guarantee is needed that the change really is a boon and that it has come to stay. But it follows that, if two notions be disputing for the mastery, often the clearest examples of the persistence of the older opinion come from law. Some instances of Hebrew law's conservative treatment of woman have been already given (p. 60 f.), but the most obvious remain. While the law of 'forbidden degrees' is stated altogether from the male side, that of suspected adultery is applied only to women.[1] It was assumed, that is, that a man takes a wife rather than a woman a husband, yet that his claim to her fidelity is greater than her claim to his. There is here still the notion that a wife is her husband's property. A wife, too, like a child, might be sold in stress of

[1] Lev. xviii. 6 ff., xx. 10 ff.; Num. v. 11 ff.

need.[1] It would not, however, be just to discount the evidence of the coming of the recognition of woman's personality because the older value still in many ways held. In how many Christian lands does law still discriminate in favour of male sins against home!

It is more remarkable that, in a nation whose social theory was elsewhere always the sequel of its religion, the latter should have so slight a connexion with the doctrine of womanhood. This had been so in earlier times, but in them no great progress had been made in the doctrine. Even now, however, the final opinion about woman emerged for the most part without any specific aid from religion. The story of Creation implies, indeed, that sex is one of the good things that God has made (Gen. i. 27, 31); the wise man suggests in a single verse that the perfect woman will be dominated by 'the fear of the Lord' (Prov. xxxi. 30); a single doubtful reference to Jehovah occurs in the Song of Songs (viii. 6; cf. marg.); the phrase 'I am the Lord' guards the law of 'prohibited degrees' as the other edicts of the Code of Holiness (Lev. xviii. 6); but there is no trace of that evolution of thought under the impulse and inspiration of religion to which the study of the rest of Hebrew social theory accustoms the reader of the Bible. In the Song of Songs, even more than in Esther, religion is subconscious. The discovery of woman's personality was made 'pragmatically' in Israel; experience by itself taught the wisdom of giving her a high place

[1] Isa. l. 1; cf. Neh. v. 5; Job xxxi. 10. The custom was probably old; cf. pp. 42, 45.

in life. A people, like the Hindu, that finds sex in the gods may make it intrinsically religious, but a race that refuses it a Divine original forgoes that possibility. For the Jew sex was not ultimate but ministerial, and its regulation a means, not an end. What this implies will appear later.

V

THE NEW TESTAMENT—'ONE IN CHRIST JESUS'

The Dominant Axiom

In discussing the Bible treatment of woman, sex, and the family, it is peculiarly important to remember that the New Testament contains no systematic and exhaustive account of any social institution. Its writers' references to such subjects are sporadic and occasional; they arise out of the particular circumstance of writer or readers; the disentanglement of universal principles is difficult and precarious; and an indiscriminate application of particular verses is almost sure to be mistaken. A curious illustration of the fragmentariness of the New Testament treatment of the immediate subjects of this book may be gleaned from the Anglican 'Form of Solemnization of Matrimony.' When it requires a Biblical instance of true wedlock it turns to the Old Testament: 'As Isaac and Rebecca lived faithfully together.' The Wesleyan Order prefers 'Zacharias and Elizabeth.' The New Testament has no outstanding example of Christian marriage. The passages, however, that deal explicitly with some phase or other of the problem of womanhood all presuppose a decisive fact. This fact is that the Christ—and so, of

course, the Apostles—naturally and unreservedly accepted the third of the three great historic opinions about woman. The New Testament treats her neither as a means of pleasure, nor as a means of family, but as a person ; it makes her as fully an end as it does man. This does not mean that it has nothing to say of sex and child-bearing, or that it denounces either, but that it treats them as subordinate to personality in woman.

It is true that the Old Testament in its latest stage sometimes reached this position, but sometimes, too, it still held to the opinion that woman is a tool for the continuance of the family, and this ambiguity remained till Jesus' day. This appears, not only from Jewish books of the time (cf. Additional Note 2), but from one or two New Testament passages. For instance, it is written that when the disciples returned to Jacob's Well with food for their Master, 'they marvelled that He was speaking with a woman' (John iv. 27). Later experience of His ways no doubt made the marvel a commonplace, but to those who as yet knew only the contrary precept and practice of other Rabbis wonder was natural.[1] A more sinister illustration arises in the story of the woman taken in adultery (John vii. 53–viii. 11). The Scribes and Pharisees haled her to Jesus in the name of affronted law—'In the law Moses commanded us to stone such'—but, though she had been taken 'in the very act,' they had not seized the partner of her sin. Yet the law that they invoked appointed stoning to

[1] See Westcott, *in loc.* Here is one of the minor signs of the historic accuracy of the narratives of the Fourth Gospel. Later Christian thought, accustomed to the story of Jesus, would rather assume such a trait in the Master than wonder at it.

both.[1] So inveterate is the habit of discriminating in favour of the male offender! As long as this discrimination exists in any society it has not altogether ceased to treat a wife as her husband's means of legitimate offspring. She is his tool in a way that he is not hers. Judaism had not yet fully 'purged out the old leaven.'

It is true, again, as will presently appear, that the Christian Church, even in New Testament times, found itself obliged, under the principle of Accommodation, to lay innocent disabilities upon women (pp. 103 ff.). It is even possible that some last faint trace of such disability will perforce linger until the Kingdom of God fully come. All the more remarkable, therefore, is the fact that there is nothing in the gospel of Jesus that belongs to men rather than to women. Certain stories about Him show how His practice conformed to His theory—His working miracles for the sake of women (Luke vii. 13; John ii. 1 ff., xi. 5); their admission to the innermost circle of His friends (Luke viii. 1 f., x. 38 ff.; Acts i. 14); His acceptance of the favour of their alms (Luke viii. 3)—an acceptance that means in the sensitive an utter trust (cf. 1 Cor. ix. 15); their priority when He showed Himself to His disciples 'after that He was risen from the dead.' The Acts of the Apostles again makes it quite clear that the earliest preachers of Christianity offered women 'salvation' in just the same way as men. This, too, is not less certain because it is rather assumed than

[1] Deut. xxii. 23 f. Sir Henry Maine, in his *Village Communities*, tells how once the vernacular street-songs of a Hindu city declared that life had become impossible in India since British law treated women and children as if they were men!

asserted (e.g. Acts viii. 3, 12, ix. 2, xvii. 4, 12, 34). Similar passages can be quoted from the Epistles. Indeed, just as most of the New Testament references to men are made to them not as men, but as persons, so most of its references to women are made to them, not as women, but as persons. This is true, for instance, of Lydia and Priscilla, and of Jesus' treatment of every woman. Here, as often elsewhere, Paul gave the underlying truth first fit expression: 'As many of you as were baptized into Christ did put on Christ. . . . There can be no male and female; for all are one in Christ Jesus' (Gal. iii. 27 f.). A woman is as welcome as a man at Calvary, as acceptable with God, as capable of the Spirit, as meet for Meekness and bliss. This is the sequel of the Old Testament's admission of women to worship, and for Christian theory it is decisive. Woman is for it a person—and therefore an end—equally with man. As the gospel transcends nationality, so it transcends sex. Here, too, it is catholic.

'Submission'

Yet over against this basal fact there must be set a few passages from the Epistles of Paul and Peter.[1] These passages provide answers to two problems—the relation of a wife to her husband, and of women to the Church. There are some particulars in the apostles' instructions that none would think of 'universalizing'—of applying, that is, literally to all times and places.

[1] 1 Cor. xi. 2–16, xiv. 34–36; Eph. v. 22–33; Col. iii. 18; 1 Tim. ii. 9–15; Titus ii. 5; 1 Pet. iii. 1–7.

For instance, Peter forbids the ' plaiting ' (1 Pet. iii. 3) and Paul the ' braiding ' (1 Tim. ii. 9) of the hair. Of course, what is meant is that women are not to ' behave themselves unseemly.' Practices admitted as innocent and even as comely in one age and land, may have anything but an innocent meaning in another. To put out the tongue is a sign of impudence in England, of shamefacedness in India, and of welcome in Thibet ! There is a near parallel to the apostles' teaching in Wesley's prohibition of the ' putting on of gold or costly apparel ' to the humble members of his early ' societies.' So, too, though in another way, it would be a mistake to apply universally Paul's dictum, ' I permit not a woman to teach, nor to have dominion over a man ' (1 Tim. ii. 12). Was it wrong for Priscilla to instruct Apollos (Acts xviii. 26), or for Victoria to rule an empire ? It is plain that in some ways at least the passages in question apply only to the particular circumstance of the apostolic churches.

Yet it would be unfair to waive them on this ground. Beneath the particular there hides a principle. The dominant word in all the passages is a term translated in the English versions by ' subjection,' but better rendered ' submission.' It is a term of very diverse meaning. In the New Testament it is used, for instance, of a slave's ' submission ' to his master, of Christians' ' submission ' to each other, and of the Son's ' submission ' within the Trinity to the Father.[1] Obviously its connotation differs

[1] 1 Pet. ii. 18 ; Eph. v. 21 ; 1 Cor. xv. 28. Other uses are of the ' submission ' of ' demons ' to the Seventy (Luke x. 17), of nature to man (Heb. ii. 8), of subjects to their rulers (Rom. xiii. 1), of children to parents (1 Tim. iii. 4), of Jesus to Mary and Joseph (Luke ii. 51).

in different uses. A wife's 'submission' to her husband, however, is explicitly compared by St. Paul to the 'submission' of the Church to Christ (Eph. v. 22 ff.), and under a different term to that of Christ to God (1 Cor. xi. 3), while it is implicitly compared to the 'submission' which Christians practise toward one another (Eph. v. 21 f.). The one feature common to these three instances, in other ways so different, is that in them all the 'submission' is voluntary.[1] While the word could be used of coercion (e.g. Luke x. 17), it is not so used in any of them. The conclusion that the apostles meant the voluntary 'submission' of a Christian wife to her husband finds further support in the fact that, while wives are enjoined willingly to 'submit' to their husbands, husbands are nowhere told to exact 'submission' from their wives. On the contrary, they are exhorted to show them the same loving Meekness that Christ shows the Church (e.g. Eph. v. 25 ff.). In proportion as a marriage rises to the level of the apostolic ideal, the 'submission' of wife to husband will become, like that of the Son to the Father, an inferiority that is not an inferiority. Nor will it serve to scoff at this theological contradiction in terms.[2] Probably already in New Testament times there were Christian homes where a 'submission' that is an equality was known by practice. Yet the evolution of the Christian home was only

[1] The use of the Greek 'middle voice' in a number of the passages perhaps supports this exegesis.

[2] Turgenev, in *Fathers and Children*, chap. xxv., makes Katya say, 'I am ready to obey; only inequality is intolerable. To respect one's self and obey, that I can understand, that's happiness; but a subordinate existence. . . . No, I've had enough of that as it is' (Constance Garnett's translation).

then beginning. Slowly, spite the hindrance of the lower notions first of the Roman-Greek world and afterwards of the 'barbarian' north, it has advanced, until now it is a commonplace of Christian home life that 'submission' may coexist with equality. And a discovery has been added that Paul does not name—that such 'submission' may be the glad custom of both parties. This is the miracle of mutual Meekness.

The comparison that Paul most closely plies, however, is that between a wife's 'submission' to her husband and the Church's to Christ, and some argue from his words that it is necessary to postulate that a husband has an intrinsic superiority to his wife as the Son of God has over the company of the 'saints.' Is not this, however, to urge the comparison on a side where it clearly fails? And are there no other ways in which this particular comparison is peculiarly just? There are passages that suggest that all forms of 'submission,' except one, are imperfect—including even the Church's to Christ—and that they shall at last give way to the perfect type, 'submission' to God (e.g. 1 Cor. iii. 23, xv. 24–28). It seems to be implied that the Church's 'submission' to Christ exists only because the Church is imperfect, and that it only comes into operation when community of spirit is incomplete. About this 'submission' the term 'fear' would be appropriate (cf. Eph. v. 33; 1 Pet. iii. 2, 6). It will at last lapse in the nobler 'submission' of all things to God (cf. p. 98). In these ways the 'submission' of a wife to a husband is like it. So long as Meekness is not consummate in the commonwealth of home, or whenever it is even

for a moment lost, there must be one that decides and one that 'submits,' and, when disagreement thus jars on Meekness, the apostolic teaching is that the will of the husband and not of the wife is to prevail. The disagreement here meant is not in opinion but in temper. This kind of disagreement, however slight it be, is a token of imperfection, and its complementary 'submission' is only justifiable to secure within an imperfect home the peace that is essential if the home is to serve the purpose of God. If it be said that upon the demand here made no marriage has ever been continuously perfect, the answer is that neither has any Church. It is none the less true that, where the kind of 'submission' that follows on disagreement is needed, there marriage is not all it ought to be. But in any true home there are surely intervals when all 'submission' of this kind lapses. Only such intervals, whether long or short, display the ideal of Christian wedlock. Peter's paragraph in set terms and Paul's by implication face the problem of *imperfect* homes. Logically there is no reason why the 'submission' should be on the wife's side rather than the husband's, or on the husband's rather than the wife's. But life is always historical, while it is not always logical. And a wise use of Accommodation always takes account of history. If progress is to be by stages, the past conditions the stages. In dealing with the problem of imperfect homes, the apostles, in fact though not in logic, could not help imposing 'submission' on the wife.[1]

[1] The question whether a wife should become a Christian, or join a Church, if her husband forbid her, is not discussed in the New

Ought a Woman to 'Teach'?

Some of the passages, however, deal, not with marriage, but with the behaviour and status of women in the Church. Ought a woman to be veiled or unveiled in worship? Ought a woman to teach? It is plain that at Corinth it had been permissible before Paul wrote his First Epistle for a woman to 'pray and prophesy' (1 Cor. xi. 5) and to do so unveiled. The apostle forbade both practices, yet when in later years he wrote his First Epistle to Timothy the legitimacy of women's 'teaching' was still in some Churches a 'living question' (1 Tim. ii. 12; cf. Acts xxi. 9). The intervening decennium had not sufficed to secure the universal acceptance of Paul's opinion. On these questions he uses three arguments. He appeals to the common custom of Christian Churches; he reminds his readers that the veil and public silence were reckoned 'seemly' by the public opinion of the time; he recalls the stories of Genesis. The first two arguments can easily be brought under the principle of Accommodation (p. 92), but its application to the third is not so clear. Paul claims that 'the law,' since it commands women to 'submit themselves,' forbids them to preach;[1] and he appeals to the fact that in the story of Eden woman was created after and for the sake of man, but fell into sin before him. It is possible to dismiss this argument as mere 'Rabbinism,' but better to seek

Testament. For the principles that guide in such problems, see *B. D. S.*, chap. vi.

[1] 1 Cor. xiv. 34. If the reference be not to the general tenor of the Hebrew Law, but to Gen. iii. 16, then all Paul's 'instances' are from the one story of Eden.

a principle beneath the Rabbinic form, for Paul is rarely or never a mere Rabbi. To reach the complete principle, however, something more in the apostle's teaching must be added. In the passage that elaborates the argument from Genesis he has an afterthought—'Howbeit neither is the woman without the man, nor the man without the woman, in the Lord. For as the woman is of the man, so is the man also by the woman; but all things are of God' (1 Cor. xi. 11 f.). Consonant with this is a significant omission earlier in the passage—'[The man] is the image and glory of God; but the woman is the glory of the man' (1 Cor. xi. 7). The apostle would not call woman the 'image' of man, for, both by the teaching of Genesis itself (Gen. i. 27) and by the preaching of the gospel to women, it was required that woman, too, is made 'in the image of God.' Else how could there be 'neither male nor female' in Christ Jesus? In other words, when the apostle considered history and looked back to the beginning of things he found himself constrained to admit the inferiority of women, but when he looked forward and considered the ideal he was equally obliged to admit her equality with man. The complete statement of the Christian principle, therefore, is that during the earlier stages of the evolution of society woman, under the doctrine of Accommodation, is providentially in a state of 'submission,' but that as society advances towards the ideal this 'submission' will tend to disappear, until, when the final and perfect society of those 'in the Lord' is reached, woman will be altogether man's equal. Paul's words,

therefore, do not necessarily mean that there can never be a time when a woman ought to 'teach.'

Once or twice the term 'law' occurs in the discussion above. It suggests a parallel between the Christian view of woman's 'submission' and the State. Again, three of the passages that lay down rules for 'wives' also lay down rules for 'slaves.'[1] All three institutions—the 'submission' of woman, the State, slavery—belong to an imperfect stage in the development of society, yet all three have a proper place and use in that development, and all three involve the use of that tool of imperfection, force (cf. *B. D. S.*, pp. 324-337). It is not at all an accident that woman's political rights are at their lowest in the State whose basis is pure force. Physically woman is 'the weaker vessel' (1 Pet. iii. 7), and so unfitted to fight. How, then, should a polity like that of the early German tribes, where the ruling assembly was the muster of the fighting men, 'enfranchise' women? Or how should an Eastern despotism, coercing all, omit to coerce them? But as the basis of States slowly ceases to be physical force and begins to be mutual Meekness—a process that long since began in Christendom—as the State itself, that is, ceases to build on coercion and patiently approximates to the Kingdom of God, woman gains more and more the recognition and rights of a person. This is why the condition of woman is so good a test of the worth of a civilization. Her progress registers the progress of Meekness.

[1] Eph. v. 22–vi. 9; Col. iii. 18 ff.; 1 Pet. ii. 18–iii. 7.

Variety among Equals

To make woman a person does not mean that she ought to be admitted to all the callings of men. To this there are two barriers. One of them is permanent. It is that women are not men, and that their equality in the Kingdom of Heaven is not likeness. In Christian thought 'equality' means that each person have full opportunity to be what his nature requires him to be (*B. D. S.*, pp. 267, 291 f.). He will therefore be unlike every one else. The character of the final society is not monotony but variety. No two are alike even here, and no two are alike in the perfect state. To this variety among individuals there is added the variety of classes —the artistic, the scientific, the practical, the contemplative. All these need and perfect each other. The same is true of the division of mankind into men and women. As will presently be seen, the New Testament teaches that there is no sex in heaven, but, then, the distinction of physical sex is not the only or the noblest distinction between man and woman. Each has a characteristic perfection, and each perfects the other (cf. Mark x. 6 f.). 'Neither is the woman without the man, nor the man without the woman in the Lord.' To say that women are not men is not to rob them of equality with men as persons, for it is just as true that men are not women. This difference, like the other and smaller distinctions just named, has its own ministry both in the inbringing of the Kingdom and in its fruition. There are some things that

will for ever be the monopoly of women as there are others that will be the final monopoly of men. What these are the New Testament does not say; their complete manifestation awaits the evolution of the Kingdom; their discovery is a duty of a growing Christendom. Here, as elsewhere, each age is left to grapple with its own problems.[1]

One calling, however, the New Testament does in one or two texts distinguish as woman's. At first sight these texts may seem to revert to the old opinion that woman is the mere means of children, but they reveal rather what is of worth in it. They are from the First Epistle to Timothy: 'If [a widow] hath brought up children, if she hath used hospitality to strangers, if she hath washed the saints' feet, if she hath relieved the afflicted, if she hath diligently followed every good work'; 'I desire, therefore, that the younger marry, bear children, rule the household, give none occasion to the adversary for reviling'; 'She shall be saved through her childbearing, if they continue in faith and love and sanctification with sobriety'[2] Here there is mention not only of the bearing of children but of their training,—such gentle training as Lois and Eunice had given Timothy

[1] Cf. pp. 111 f.

[2] 1 Tim. v. 10, 14, ii. 15. In view of the first two quotations it seems at least possible that the 'they' in the third means, not, as usually supposed, women generally, but the mother of the previous phrase and her children—i.e. a Christian mother shall be saved by her bearing of children if she so bring them up that they with her abide 'in faith and love and sanctification with sobriety.' Cf. 2 Tim. i. 5; Titus ii. 4. This exposition admits Ramsay's translation, 'She shall be saved by means of motherhood' (*The Teaching of Paul in Terms of the Present Day*, p. 170), though his exegesis of the text is different.

himself,—and the Christian Church has not mistaken the apostle when it has ever taught the ministry of motherhood. Womanhood and manhood have each a unique calling in a home. There are spiritual services to be rendered there that only a mother can perfectly fulfil, services not less valuable because their subtilty defies definition. Perhaps only a widower, fumbling to fulfil them in the place of his lost wife, altogether knows how utterly they are hers. It is true that some mean minds have degraded these injunctions into a sign of servitude—have they not expounded the apostle to mean that women are to stay at home and cook?—but this will not blind Christian women to the truth that this ministry of theirs is no token of inferiority, but their very glory. A religion that makes home the definition of God (*B. D. S.*, pp. 274 ff. 287 f.) cannot subordinate its ministry to any other.[1] There father and mother hold twin trusts, in some ways alike, in some different.

Yet, just as the ministry of home, with all its sacredness, is not the only ministry of Christian men, neither is it of Christian women. Otherwise Christianity could not tolerate the celibacy of any (pp. 98 f.), for that would be to cut them off from all ministry. Already in the New Testament there are incidental references to the exercise of other 'spiritual gifts' by women (Luke ii. 36 ff.; Acts. ix. 36 ff., xvi. 14 ff., xviii. 26, xxi. 9; Rom. xvi. 1; Phil. iv. 2 f.; 2 John). This accords with their ministry to Jesus Himself. It is true that for the most

[1] For the Virgin Mary see Additional Note 3.

part the services named are of a private kind, but not entirely so. In particular it is interesting to find Paul, long after his letter to Corinth had forbidden women to teach, meeting in Palestine the four daughters of Philip 'which did prophesy.' This leads to the notice of the second barrier to the immediate and indiscriminate admission of women to the callings of men. While there are some ministries of the Kingdom from which men are permanently barred, and some from which women are similarly excluded, there are others that both will ultimately share, but into which at any particular epoch it may be untimely that one or the other intrude. In other words, progress is gradual and not sudden. In some lands and ages, for instance, women enjoy a public freedom that they cannot safely use in others. Tacitus counted it worse than slavery that a race 'obey a woman,'[1] but Britain was proud to submit to Victoria. It might be harmless or even beneficial that in Palestine the daughters of Philip should 'prophesy,' though in the Gentile Churches such 'prophesying' might both harm the women themselves and scandalize the outsider. There is here abundant room for the principle of Accommodation. And, once again, the New Testament does not lay down rules that will solve at a glance the problems of subsequent centuries. Each Christian age is left to work out its own salvation. It must beware both of too hasty advance and too tardy progress. On the one hand, Jesus did not hesitate to disregard the canon of Rabbinic behaviour by 'talking with a woman,' on the other Paul justified his injunc-

[1] Cf. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. ix.

tion that women be veiled in the Church by an appeal to current custom. In other lands and times either of these proceedings might be inadvisable. That woman, denied her true evolution, will avenge herself, Jezebel shows for the Old Testament (p. 57) and her sister Herodias for the New.[1] The only rules that can safely be laid down are two general ones—Christendom proceeds by change towards a distant ideal, but it proceeds gradually. It refuses both stagnation and stampede. The fundamental fact, however, is that women are persons and not tools. Are they not 'joint heirs of the grace of life' (1 Pet. iii. 7)? Christianity subordinates sex in woman to personality, Islam personality to sex. The difference is decisive, and its best illustration still is to contrast Jesus' and Mohammed's treatment of the women that they knew.

The Temporariness of Sex

The doctrine of the secondariness of sex suggests the text in which Jesus declared that there is no sex 'in the resurrection.' St. Luke gives the declaration in its fullest form: 'The sons of this age marry, and are given in marriage; but they that are accounted worthy to attain to that age and the resurrection from the dead neither marry nor are given in marriage; for neither can they die any more; for they are equal unto the angels, and are sons of God, being

[1] Mark vi. 17 ff.; cf. Matt. xxvii. 19; Acts xiii. 50, xvi. 16 ff. 2 Tim. iii. 6 f.

sons of the resurrection ' (Luke xx. 34–36). Two phrases here seem at first sight almost irrelevant, but closer study shows their primary importance. The first is, ' For neither can they die any more.' The implication of the connexion is that ' in the resurrection ' the physical purpose of marriage is past, for where none die there is no need that any be born. This recalls the opinion of some Fathers that the number of souls is limited, and it is not incredible that God does not intend the perpetual multiplication of immortals. But the phrase suggests more than this speculation. It seems clearly to show that Jesus denied survival in ' that age ' to sex only on its physical side (cf. Matt. xix. 12). The context, too, appears to bear this out, for the question of the Sadducees related to a Mosaic law meant to secure the propagation of each Hebrew family. As already seen, however, there are other and nobler distinctions between men and women than physical ones, and there seems to be no reason to infer that these too will disappear hereafter. Olive Schreiner, in one of her ' Dreams,' imagines a future peopled by beings that combine the best traits of men and women, but surely here her prophecy limps. To abolish all the differences between men and women would rob the state called ' heaven ' of one of its fairest varieties. Nor does it seem impossible that, when the union of husband and wife on earth grows more and more predominantly spiritual, their peculiar union should survive that physical thing, death. Rather in ' heaven ' their union would reach an utter spirituality. It would be a strange future whose universal love abolished all special

intimacies. The Christian heart postulates their survival in other forms, why not in this one? 'That age' is not more meagre than this.

But there is another significant phrase: 'They are equal unto the angels and are sons of God.' Jesus seems to mean that there is no sex in 'heaven' because there is no sex in God. Here is the natural climax of Hebrew thought both about man and God.[1] This is not the place to trace the history of the belief in a sexless deity. Only those who are at once students of heathen cosmogonies and observers of heathen practices know how awful is the curse that befalls a society that believes in sexual gods. The Prophets' long agony against the 'Baalim and Ashtaroth' was largely a struggle against this creed. A first consequence of its refusal was the discovery that worship does not culminate in the sexual (cf. pp. 38 ff.). Again, only where the sexual concept of the gods had long been eradicated could the pure doctrine of the divine Fatherhood develop. God is love, not sex. Jesus was the master teacher of the dependence of sociology upon theology, and here He applied it unhesitatingly. There is no physical sex among the perfect in 'heaven,' for they are 'the sons of God.' This, perhaps, is part of the reason why the Bible theory of woman, alone among its leading social theories, developed with so slight a connexion with religion (pp. 76 f.). So long as the problem was mainly a problem of sex it did not belong to those eternal things that are religion's peculiar province. *Sub specie aeternitatis* sex, unlike

[1] Jesus was perhaps quoting the Book of Enoch. See Additional Note 1.

personality, is temporary, and so secondary. It is a means suited of God to His purposes in 'this age,' but needless hereafter. It is a ministerial phenomenon, not a final one. This is why it seems so natural to Christians that Jesus was celibate.

Some hold that the passage quoted above from the Third Gospel is a disciple's expansion of the shorter saying of Jesus recorded in the Second. Whether this is so or not, the text illustrates the social teaching of Christianity in the apostolic epoch; but, if it be so, the passage has a bearing upon two others in the letters of Luke's friend Paul. The more important of these is in the seventh chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. It has always been hard to reconcile the apostle's commendation of celibacy here with the passages from the First Epistle to Timothy quoted above[1] and with his strong condemnation of those who forbade marriage (1 Tim. iv. 3 f.). Perhaps the explanation is that the Apostle knew of the Lord's teaching that in the next 'age' there is no sex and made a practical application of it. For it is certain that when Paul wrote the First Epistle to the Corinthians he expected the Parousia quickly. It would be out of place to attempt a minute exegesis here, but the argument seems to fall under the following conspectus: 'The final and eternal relation is that to God in Christ; when He comes marriage (on its physical side), like slavery and circumcision, will lapse, for it is of "this age"; but Christ is returning almost

[1] p. 90. The praise of virginity in Rev. xiv. 4 seems only to mean the praise of the purity it symbolises.

at once, for " the time is shortened " (ver. 29); He Himself foretold that on His return—of which the " present distress " (ver. 26) is a sign—it would be a miserable plight to be " with child " or to " give suck " (Luke xxi. 23; cf. xxiii. 29); therefore, though marriage even now is no sin, it is better not to marry.' It is remarkable that the noble place of the family in the service of God, fully recognized in the later Epistles, does not come into view here; marriage is treated as if it were altogether a physical thing. There is a phrase in the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, another letter written when Paul awaited a speedy Parousia, that puts this under a repellant Rabbinic figure: ' That each one of you know how to possess himself of his own vessel in sanctification and honour, not in the passion of lust.'[1] What noble use could marriage serve on the edge of a catastrophe that would abolish it (cf. Luke xvii. 26 ff.)? Why should a Christian who expected the consummation in a year or two at most want to marry? The nearness of the Parousia shut out the high purpose of the home; it could not be thought of as the school of Christian generations to come. All, therefore, that the apostle could say was, ' If they have not continency, let them marry; for it is better to marry than to burn.'[2] But when, in later days, he came to see that the time of the Parousia was not yet, then he did justice to the Kingdom's use of the home. That which had but a poor defence in view of an immediate

[1] 1 Thess. iv. 4 f. It is tempting to interpret ' vessel ' to mean ' body,' not ' wife,' but this does less than justice to the Greek context.

[2] 1 Cor. vii. 9. For the Virgin Mary see Additional Note 3.

consummation of the age found an easy vindication when the slower method of God was discerned. And, as if to make amends for the low opinion of marriage to which a mistaken expectation had once driven him, Paul now found in it a daring analogue. Hardly would any other have compared it to the Risen Lord's relation to His Church: 'This mystery is great, but, as for myself, I refer it to Christ and His Church' (Eph. v. 32). This last relation, too, according to Paul's teaching, is to suffer change at the close of 'this age' (1 Cor. xv. 23 ff.; cf. p. 84), but surely its change will mean rather consummation than extinction. The Apocalypse expects its consummation under the very figure of marriage (Rev. xix. 7, 9, xxi. 2, 9). May not the home, too, change then from glory to greater glory? Here, again, the heart's yearning that there should be something eternal in the bond of true marriage and the society of home finds assurance.

Celibacy, Remarriage, and Divorce

The New Testament teaches, then, that sex began with 'this age' (Mark x. 6; cf. Rom. i. 26 f.), that it will last to its close (Luke xvii. 26 f.), but that it will then end. Though it is coeval with Creation, it is not one of the final things; it is not an end but a means. From this several Christian customs ensue. One of them is the admission of occasional celibacy. For what Paul held to be wise because he expected a speedy Parousia others may justify for other reasons. The Hindu, holding that marriage is

inevitably an eternal relation, counts it a universal obligation, but Christianity believes in a Christ who was Himself a celibate. If celibacy be for any the best way to further the coming of the Kingdom, that fact is its sufficient defence—'There are eunuchs which make themselves eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake' (Matt. xix. 12). Again, the doctrine of the temporal nature of sex explains why the New Testament allows a widow or widower to remarry (Rom. vii. 3; 1 Cor. vii. 8 f.). How terrible the practical outcome of a speculative belief may be appears here in Hinduism. Allowing polygamy to men, it permits or rather enjoins a widower to take another wife; but, requiring monogamy of women, on the ground that marriage is eternal, it forbids even a child widow to remarry, and damns her to a lifelong shame. Once more, the New Testament, following out the old Testament's last word about divorce (p. 61), teaches that marriage, though it may be loosed by death, can be loosed by nothing else. It persists so long as the parties to it both belong to 'this age.' It would be idle to traverse again the controversial ground of the interpretation of Jesus' saying about divorce, but the writer may state his own opinion of its meaning and implication.[1] It seems to him

[1] Mark x. 2–12; Matt. xix. 3–12; cf. 1 Cor. vii. 11. The controversy has perhaps turned too much on the question of the authenticity and interpretation of the text of one or two particular passages and too little on the implications of Jesus' teaching as a whole. The persistence of doubt may be illustrated. Dr. Hastings finds that Dr. Charles' solution in his *New Testament Teaching on Divorce* (1921), 'settles the controversy,' while Dr. Moffatt calls its exegesis 'more drastic than impressive' (*Expository Times*, xxxii., p. 435; *Hibbert Journal*, xix., p. 757).

that Jesus meant that nothing within the ' age ' of the ' creation ' can break the marriage tie, and that, even though for ' fornication ' a husband may be obliged to separate from his wife or a wife from her husband, yet the innocent should not even then remarry, for the day may come when the guilty repents, and, if it come, on that day the innocent should take the guilty back. Such reconciliation will seem impossible until the innocent consider the reconciliation of a sinner with God. Lifelong union is the Christian ideal.

Yet Jesus Himself recognized that there had been a time when the Deuteronomist's legal admission of divorce was justifiable (Mark x. 5). In its day this had been an advance towards the ideal, as great a step forward as the ' hardness ' of men's hearts would allow. Jesus knew that men do not fly but creep to the mountain top, and explicitly admitted the principle of Accommodation. Has no nation in later times than the Deuteronomist's been in a position where an edict like that of Moses was all that was possible ? Until ' that which is perfect is come ' the State at least must be content slowly to approximate thereto. In not a few ways the Church, too, must for a while tolerate the imperfect. Is divorce one of them ? Or is it, like polygamy, an anachronism for Christians ? The writer admits that at this step he hesitates. Whatever be the answer, as the Church teaches and urges the ideal practice, the number of cases wherein she is called to the hard decision will diminish till they disappear. One other fact calls for notice, though it be obvious. Here and every-

where else the New Testament makes the obligation of the marriage tie equally binding on husband and wife.[1] What else is possible if women be fully persons? No legal system that discriminates in favour of either sex is Christian.

Intermarriage and Monogamy

There are two other subjects that need to be named before the various strands of New Testament teaching are drawn together. These are intermarriage and monogamy. The written or unwritten laws of a society may limit intermarriage in two ways—they may forbid it *within* certain 'degrees' of relationship, or they may forbid it *outside* a given society. For instance, the written law of the United States forbids a brother to marry his sister, while the unwritten law of many of the Southern States forbids a white person to marry any but a white person. On these subjects the New Testament has little to say, but that little is not without significance. There is no stated law of 'forbidden degrees,' but it is assumed that one obtained, even in the Gentile Churches. This appears, for instance, from Paul's vehement arraignment of the Corinthian Church because they delayed to ostracize a man guilty of incest. This is an example of the truth that in the New Testament there is no attempt to 'legislate' for the whole of life. In some ways the early Christians were content to inherit customs that obtained before their time. About the second kind of limitation

[1] Cf. 1 Cor. vii. 4, 10–16, and see footnote 2 on pp. 102 f.

there is a well-known text of Paul: 'Be not unequally yoked with unbelievers' (2 Cor. vi. 14; cf. 1 Cor. vii. 39). This was to carry over to the new 'Israel' the regulations of the old Israel (p. 72), and it was justifiable on the same ground—only by such a limitation could the community of a little Christian Church hope to maintain its faith in the midst of a vast and pervasive heathenism. Yet Paul himself waged stern war against the attempt to apply another of the old Hebrew customs, circumcision, in the Gentile Churches. Which customs were to be taken and which to be left? There is here another clear instance of the use of the principle of Accommodation. It is hazardous to apply even an apostolic rule on such questions always and everywhere, and still more hazardous to apply a rule that builds on a religious difference to one that builds on a racial one. The Bible leaves the question whether and when two races shall tolerate intermarriage to the wisdom of the generation that has the particular problem to solve.

As to monogamy, it is well known that the New Testament nowhere declares in set terms that this is to be the Christian rule. Yet it was already the universal custom both of the Jewish and the Greek world.[1] Did Christianity tolerate the polygamy that they forbade? There is here an outstanding instance of the way in which a custom may be so universally taken for granted that it is never asserted.[2] Usually men do not

[1] Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. viii., p. 433 (W. M. Foley).

[2] 1 Cor. vii. 2 comes nearest to an assertion. It is in view of the

assert the obvious, but assume it. Again, the Christian use of monogamy, like the Christian custom of 'forbidden degrees,' illustrates the way in which Christianity accepted not a few usages from its environment. In this instance it took over a rule that had not been fully reached even in the latest period of Old Testament life. But, while it borrowed, it always selected what it should borrow.

Progress by Accommodation

It is now perhaps possible to bring together the New Testament evidence about the many problems that beset the subject of womanhood, and to draw some general conclusions. The New Testament makes no attempt exhaustively to state or solve all these problems. Those only are named and discussed which happened to arise in the life of the Christian communities. Their discussion, that is, is occasional, not systematic. Again, where they occur they abound in unexplained allusions. This, of course, is usual in documents written for an immediate practical purpose. It reaches its climax in letters. Everybody who has read letters written and read by people whose environment differs from his own,

universal practice of monogamy in the environment of the early Church that certain texts in the Pastoral Epistles are to be examined (1 Tim. iii. 2, 12, v. 9 ; Titus i. 6). Here the phrases 'the husband of one wife' and 'the wife of one husband' probably refer to the wide prevalence of divorce at the time (see article just cited, p. 434, and p. 466 in the same volume [W. Warde Fowler]). There would probably be among the early converts a number who before conversion had divorced a wife or husband and married again. These were not to bear office in the Church. If this exposition be correct, it has some bearing on the question of the Church's attitude to divorce (pp. 99 f.).

knows how prevalent unexplained references are in them, and how difficult it often is to discover the details of the environment that explain such references. This accounts for the length and difficulty of the examination of the New Testament passages above. In consequence, however, there is perhaps a certain risk of failing to ' see the wood for the trees.' Yet the several New Testament discussions do all obey certain fixed principles. These may now be stated.

Every problem discussed is brought in some way under the principle of Accommodation. This is clearly so with the question of the ' submission ' of a wife to her husband, of the problem of the ministry of women in the Church, of the question ' Shall women be veiled in public worship ?,' of the treatment of divorce, of the admission of occasional celibacy, and of the prohibition of intermarriage with non-Christians. In the last chapter the law of ' prohibited degrees ' was brought under the same principle. Even sex itself, if it be considered in relation to ' eternity,' is Accommodational. The rule of monogamy, too, has really the same vindication. To many, indeed, its sufficient defence is a healthy nausea of any other practice, but it has been frequently seen above that this nausea has not always and everywhere existed. It bases upon racial experience, and upon a racial experience gained after many experiments. As has been said, every progressive race tends to adopt monogamy. Christianity teaches that every home ought to be a school of the Kingdom of God, and, both historically and logically, it is found that a home best serves this purpose if in it one man and one

woman unite in the joyful task of training the 'children of God' for the service of His Kingdom. While there may be some who can best serve the Kingdom by remaining celibate, there can be none who will best serve it by practising polygamy. Monogamy, therefore, cannot but be the undeviating Christian rule. It is a limitation of lust unto the development of love, and love is not Accommodational, but 'ideal' and 'eternal.' One of John's deepest texts has been rightly applied to Christian marriage: 'We love, because He first loved us' (1 John iv. 19). Even more, the final illustration and vindication of home is in the Trinity itself (*B. D. S.*, pp. 287 f.).

'Yes,' some one may say, 'but this is home without sex, and in the last paragraph we have insensibly passed from a discussion of marriage to a consideration of home.' This is true, and it illustrates in a different way the Accommodational nature of sex. Yet even home, in its usual human sense, is Accommodational too. This need not be drawn out fully here, as this has been done elsewhere (*B. D. S.*, pp. 337 ff.), but the conclusions may be stated: an earthly home is Accommodational because to some degree it uses coercion, however gentle, and because it cannot include all mankind. Only the final home of God is utterly free, and only it is universal. So it is the fate and duty of every human home to 'serve its generation' and pass away. It exists for the Kingdom. If it becomes its own end, it fails. Its destiny, like the aloe's, is to die when its flower is full. No human home is perpetual. It is its glory to anticipate and

prepare the way of the Kingdom that supersedes it.

A Mutual Perfection

But the definition of 'Accommodation' must be recalled. It was defined as the adoption of an imperfect means as the best possible immediate step towards the attainment of a perfect end (p. 18). What is the perfect end? It has been assumed above that its Christian definition is 'the Kingdom of Heaven' or the home of God. Like all other unattained ideals, this one cannot yet be completely defined (*B. D. S.*, pp. xv., 241, 276). But something may be said as to what it means for woman. Usually it is claimed that the Christian ideal for woman is that she should be 'allowed a complete personality,' and that so she shall be 'equal' with man. The commonest quotation to sustain the contention is Paul's saying, 'In Christ Jesus . . . there can be no male and female' (Gal. iii. 26, 28). This quotation has been made above, and with it the assertion that Christianity from the first has accepted the account of woman that makes her fully a person, and so, in a given sense (cf. *B. D. S.*, pp. 267, 291 f.), equal with man. But then, is it the whole Christian ideal for man that he be personal? If the word 'person' mean that he be merely a perfect 'individual,' this is certainly not so. Man is both individual and social, and the perennial social problem, which will only be fully solved in the perfect society of perfect individuals, is the relation of the individual and society. No man

is fully a person unless justice is done both to the individual and the social sides of his nature—unless he is both individual and, in the strict sense, 'social.' It is even true of the three 'Persons' in the Trinity that they are only properly 'personal' by being, in a way that transcends all human ways, 'social.' The Trinity is the divine society as well as the divine unity.

The easiest illustration of this demand for man is his need of friends. But it is not the only illustration. 'Neither is the woman without the man, nor the man without the woman, in the Lord' (1 Cor. xi. 11). Paul is not thinking here merely, or even chiefly, of sex. He means that on the higher or spiritual side both man's personality is incomplete without woman's and woman's without man's. Else why the phrase 'in the Lord'? No human being can be properly a person alone, nor can either sex be properly personal alone. A society of men, or a society of women, would have other imperfections beside the impossibility of propagation. Every human being, to be fully personal, needs to share the life of a society wherein there are both men and women.

It will now be seen that the word 'independence' does not fully describe the Christian ideal for women, even as it does not fully describe the Christian ideal for men. Further, the Christian ideal does not depreciate motherhood, even as it does not depreciate fatherhood. It has been seen above that both are ministry (p. 91). Indeed, normally both are also duty. There is clamant need to-day, when there is perhaps more rapid change in the concepts of womanhood than at

any earlier period in history, both that the ' demands ' of the advocates of ' woman's rights ' be clearly stated, and that the Christian ideal be clearly stated too. ' Mere independence ' is abortive, both in men and women. The only true kind of ' equality ' is one that admits and provides for difference. Woman's ' personality ' is incomplete without man's, as man's without woman's.

This leads to the highest truth about home. The Christian account of ' heaven ' requires that it be a state where liberty and service coincide, where each loves to serve and to be served by every other. ' Perfect freedom ' is not to do what one likes, whether others like it or not, but spontaneously to like to do what others as spontaneously like to have done. Further, it is to love to do the things that please God, both because they please Him and for their own sakes. Yet these two are one. A ' heaven ' of this kind can only be consummated if both individuals and society be alike ' filled with ' one spirit, and that the Spirit of God (*B. D. S.*, pp. 268 ff.). Yet every true society in some degree anticipates this perfection (*B. D. S.*, p. 318). Among them two are pre-eminent—the Church and the home. In a Christian home, perhaps already more widely than in any other form of society, there is that combination of freedom and service which is the foretelling and foretaste of ' heaven.' Such a home is the constant habitat of the equality that is submission, and the submission that is equality, and this both on the side of the husband and of the wife. From beginning to end the Bible doctrine

of womanhood gathers round two great words — personality and home. Of these the latter is permanent, the Alpha and the Omega of the long evolution. The former is at first almost the monopoly of man, but slowly woman lays claim to it and at last establishes her claim. And when it is won, lo! it does not mar man's personality but completes it, even as it is completed in turn by his. So home is not lost but consummated. Its mutual love solves in a typical instance the perennial social problem of the interrelation of the individual and society, and sets a pattern to mankind. The Christian doctrine of womanhood and the Christian doctrine of manhood imply and consummate each other. 'Neither is the woman without the man, nor the man without the woman, in the Lord.' Christians rightly plight their troth in wedlock in the very presence of God.

VI

EPILOGUE—THE PROBLEM OF WOMANHOOD TO-DAY

It is no part of the present study to discuss the multitudinous problems about womanhood that press to-day, or even to state them, but a few words may be added about the Christian way of approaching them. The so-called 'Feminist' movement has not always been reasonable, nor has it always clearly understood its own aims. But it shares these characteristics with most of the great and good movements of history. At heart it is Christian, for it founds on the axiom of the 'value of human personality.' It demands, really though not always consciously, that, just as man is not merely a means for the survival and benefit of society, but also an 'end in himself,' so, too, woman shall not be merely a means of society, but an 'end in herself.' If it be true that 'in Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female,' the legitimacy and urgency of the demand cannot be denied. Probably no generation in history has had so fair an opportunity of carrying the implications of this great creed further into practice as the generation of to-day. And to the writer, at least, it seems that this generation is, on the whole, succeeding in this great task. The historians of the future will probably look back upon the era of the Great War as the greatest in the story of the emancipation of woman.

In meeting the 'Feminist' claim that woman should enter realms hitherto denied her, it will not suffice to say that this is 'unnatural' or that 'unladylike.' Monogamy seemed 'unnatural' at one time, even to the civilized, and to walk unveiled seems 'unladylike' in many Islamic lands now. Often these words merely register current opinion, and current opinion has no claims to be sacrosanct. This is not to say that woman ought to become like man, for not only are man and woman in fact inevitably different, but their differences are necessary and beneficial to each other and to mankind. Yet, while they are in many things different, they are also in many things alike. Consequently it is generally allowed that there are callings and practices that ought to be peculiar to each and others that they should share. But which callings? Opinion differs now, as it has in every age, on all the three questions involved—Which callings should be reserved for men? Which for women? Which shall be common to both? There does not appear to be any way of answering these questions save experiment. Merely artificial barriers —and legal ones are artificial—cannot be permanent or final. Already some of the callings unfitted for woman have been experimentally distinguished. For instance, the Amazon or woman-soldier is gone for ever. On the other hand, women tend to monopolize nursing. To-day, however, the list of callings common to men and women tends continually to grow. Only time will decide whether this list shall still further enlarge or begin to shrink. In Scandinavia there are women barbers, in India

women scavengers. In many lands women till the fields. The War multiplied their tasks in all lands. Upon some callings woman intrudes by stress of need—and here her tenure will be but temporary—in others of choice. The latter include some at least of the nobler arts and 'professions.' All welcome the woman musician, the woman painter, the woman astronomer. Few would wish that there had been no woman rulers. In the last few years woman has been admitted to law and medicine and Parliament. Will she maintain these positions? Ought there to be women preachers? Only time can prove. Neither here nor anywhere else does Christianity flinch from risk. But the women who choose to be pioneers must face their peculiar responsibility. If they undertake a calling that finally proves to be unwomanly, their character will bear the sear of their error. This is always the risk of the pioneers of society. Nor must another truth be forgotten. Even though woman be capable of many callings hitherto reserved for men, she cannot attain thereto at a bound. 'Ohne Hast, Ohne Rast' is the proper motto of her progress. Fitness comes only by evolution, and though evolution in society be mending its pace, it is still a kind of growth. If witness of this be asked, it is abundant. How few women have yet been great in music or painting or science! This is not because they are incapable of greatness, but because greatness is a gradually growing plant. Yet, spite these cautions, every remaining instance of woman's subordination is but by Accommodation, and will therefore have its term. Her claim to be a person equally with man is

a Christian claim, and, however completely and rightly the callings peculiar to each be secluded, men and women will be found at last equal as well as different. Both are at once a means and an end, the tool of society and the 'image of God.' The future, unlike the past, will know as many great women as great men.

ADDITIONAL NOTE 1

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT IN HEBREW LAW

APART from the Decalogue, modern study finds in the Pentateuch three codes of law of various dates.[1] First there is 'the Book of the Covenant,' found in Exod. xxi.–xxiv., which probably dates in its present form from the eighth or ninth century before Christ; next falls the code of Deuteronomy, which belongs probably to the seventh century B.C.; finally the 'Priestly Code,' which is found in different parts of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, belongs to the fifth century B.C. In none of these are crimes 'worthy of death' (Deut. xxi. 22) grouped together. They occur sporadically in the general body of laws. Yet these crimes, in three codes of so different date, fall readily into three classes, and the inclusion of one of the classes bears significantly upon the biblical doctrine of womanhood. Hebrew law enacted the death penalty in given cases of apostasy, murder, and crime against home. Modern codes omit the third class. Some other ancient codes include it, but rarely with as small distinction between male and female offenders as the Hebrew. The details follow. The capital crimes under the head of apostasy have now shrunk to treason, and that has ceased to be religious.

(1) Apostasy, in various forms:

Idolatry, cf. Exod. xxxii. 27; Deut. xiii. 1 ff., 6 ff., 12 ff. (an apostate city), xvii. 2 ff.; Lev. xx. 1 ff.

Blasphemy, Lev. xxiv. 16.

Wizardry, Lev. xx. 17.

False prophecy, Deut. xviii. 20 ff.

Priest's daughter's harlotry, Lev. xxi. 9.

Sabbath-breaking, Exod. xxxi. 14 f., xxxv. 2; cf. Num. xv. 35 f. (P). With this might be added the neglect of the Passover (Num. ix. 13) and of the Day of Atonement (Lev. xxiii. 29 f.), and the secular manufacture of the sanctuary oil (Exod. xxx. 33), but the phrase used of their punishment, to be 'cut off from one's people,' is now usually interpreted as a less than capital penalty (cf. Lev. xviii. 29, xx. 6; Num. xv. 30 f., &c.).

For apostasy in general cf. Exod. xix. 13; 2 Chron. xv. 13.

Treason is not explicitly mentioned in the Codes, but its penalty is seen in the story of Naboth (1 Kings xxi. 10, 13). This shows, too, that in Israel as in other ancient economies treason was a crime against the national god as well as against the king; it was a kind of apostasy. The connexion of the two again appears from the imposition of death for a particular kind of treason, 'presumption' or the refusal to obey

[1] See, for instance, Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, or Chapman's *Introduction to the Pentateuch* (Cambridge Bible Series).

a lawful judge—Deut. xvii. 12—since this is treated as a crime against Jahveh. Cf. *B. D. S.*, Additional Note 3, on 'Judge.'

(2) Murder: Exod. xxi. 12, 14, 29; Deut. xix. 11 ff.; Lev. xxiv. 17, 21; Num. xxxv. 16 ff., 29 f. (P). Cf. Deut. xxi. 1 ff.; Gen. ix. 6 (P). Accidental homicide was not judicially punishable with death, as the institution of the Cities of Refuge shows (Exod. xxi. 13; Deut. xix. 1 ff.; Num. xxxv. 9 ff. P). See *B. D. S.*, pp. 74 f. There is a jealously guarded admission of justifiable homicide in Exod. xxii. 2 f. Cf. Num. xxxv. 27. Death through negligence allowed of commutation (Exod. xxi. 29 f.).

(3) Crimes against home (marriage and parentage):

Adultery (both parties executed), Deut. xxii. 22; Lev. xx. 10.

Harlotry before wedlock, Deut. xxii. 13 ff.

Commerce with a betrothed woman (unless she were a bondwoman, Lev. xix. 20), Deut. xxii. 23 ff. The woman escaped unless her consent could be proved (Deut. xxii. 25 ff.). Apparently also an adultress escaped the extreme penalty if her guilt were only proved by ordeal (Num. v. 27).

Commerce with near relative, 'confusion,' Lev. xx. 11 f., 14 (and ? 17–19; see on Sabbath-breaking above).

Sodomy, Lev. xx. 13.

Commerce with a beast, Exod. xx. 19; Lev. xx. 15 f.

Smiting father or mother, Exod. xxi. 15.

Cursing father or mother, Exod. xxi. 17; Lev. xx. 9.

'Stubborn and rebellious' disobedience, Deut. xxi. 18 ff.

(4) The only other crime for which death was appointed was manstealing (Exod. xxi. 16; Deut. xxiv. 7), which may be classed as a supplement to (2).

Most other Codes, ancient and modern, have added a fourth class of capital crimes—crimes against property. Here Israel's omission displays her pity for the poor, with whom such crimes are commonest, as a comparison with the Code of Hammurabi (*B. D. S.*, pp. 60 ff.) or the Code of the English eighteenth century would show.[1] On the other hand, Hebrew law was severe in regard of all the three classes it included, and it spared none; it had no 'respect of persons.'[2]

[1] Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, vol. v., pp. 595 ff. Blackstone has one hundred and sixty capital offences! Those who do not consult his tomes may judge of some of these offences from an actual case described in *Barnaby Rudge*: 'Mary Jones, a young woman of nineteen who came up to Tyburn with an infant at her breast, and was "worked off" for taking a piece of cloth off the counter of a shop in Ludgate Hill, and putting it down again when the shopman saw her; and who had never done any harm before, and only tried to do that, in consequence of her husband having been pressed three weeks previously, and she, being left to beg, with two young children—as was proved upon the trial' (chap. xxxvii.). In England earlier death was the regular punishment for all felons who could not claim 'benefit of clergy.'

[2] See *B. D. S.*, pp. 58 ff. In mediaeval England any who could read could claim 'benefit of clergy,' so that often the ignorant suffered while the educated escaped.

This Note refers only to jurisprudence. No doubt the Kings of Israel, as other Eastern rulers, could and did inflict the death-penalty for many other crimes. Such monarchs were themselves the final judges of penalty (cf. 2 Sam. xii. 5, xiv. 6, 11 ; 1 Kings ii. 37), for Law only gradually limits the absolute jurisdiction of despots. The three Hebrew codes rather guided the 'elders' and other inferior judges than the Kings (Cf. *B. D. S.*, pp. 54 ff., 100 f.).

ADDITIONAL NOTE 2

THE DOCTRINE OF WOMANHOOD IN THE APOCRYPHAL AND APOCALYPTIC BOOKS

THERE is not much to distinguish the ideas of womanhood implied in these books from those of the last Old Testament period. Both the opinions prevalent then find illustration. Of the lower opinion there are examples in the Books of Sirach and Tobit. In their frequent references to women these books always treat them as dependants, and sometimes as means of children. Indeed, Sirach (xxxvi. 24) says expressly, ' He that getteth a wife entereth upon a possession.' Other passages are Sirach xxvi. 1–8 ; Tobit iii. 7–15 ; Testament of Issachar ii. 3 ; Pirke Aboth i. 5, ii. 8. A passage in the Zadokite Fragment (vii. 1–7), in praise of monogamy and (?) against divorce, also deserves separate mention, as well as two famous verses in Enoch (xv. 6 f.), which declare that as angels are immortal and spiritual they do not marry. These verses recall a passage in the Gospels, and they are named above in the discussion of the New Testament (p. 195).

The chief evidence of these books on the subject of womanhood, however, is not from such sporadic and occasional references, but from two whole books, those of Judith and Susanna. The second of these builds upon the assumption that Hebrew women held and practised a high concept of wedded loyalty. Susanna prefers death to shame. The requirement of Hebrew law, whereby an adultress was to be put to death, is illustrated in this story. It displays the superiority of Jewish over contemporary morality in more than one way.

The Book of Judith is more significant still. It shows how at this period, as at all others, a woman of strong character was a ' person ' in the full sense of the word, in spite of all custom. Judith, in the quiet days before her great exploit, recalls the woman of Shunem, and, in the exploit itself, the deed of Jael. A slighter contemporary instance of the same phenomenon occurs in Anna, the wife of Tobit (e.g. Tobit ii. 11–14), who in her turn recalls the wife of Job. Judith's great act, however, was peculiarly an individual deed. She is a great example of the individualism that was one of the characteristics of her epoch (*B. D. S.*, pp. 197 ff.), and takes her place with the Virtuous Woman of Proverbs (chap. xxxi.) and Shulammith as a third instance of complete personality in woman. Again, her relation to Holofernes both recalls Esther's to Ahasuerus and contrasts with it. Both illustrate the ways in which women might gain illicit power with an Eastern despot. Both

illustrate, too, how a Jewess might use such power for her people's service. But, while Esther consented to become the wife of an alien, Judith only seemed to consent to become the mistress of one. To gain her end she gave Holofernes an opportunity of gaining his, yet if her plan had miscarried and he had come nearer success in attempting her honour every reader knows that this resolute and resourceful woman would have found a way to die rather than yield to his lust. Judith risked, not her honour, but her life. This book illustrates the individualism of Israel at this period, its intense patriotism, and its high concept of continence. In the last it joins company with the Book of Susanna in illustrating a passage in chap. iv. (p. 71). It is hardly necessary to say that the witness of these books to Jewish ideas at the time does not depend on their historicity.

ADDITIONAL NOTE 3

THE VIRGIN MARY

It may seem to some readers remarkable that in a book about the Bible doctrine of womanhood so little should be said about Mary, the mother of Jesus. The reason is that, so far as the writer is able to judge, the New Testament doctrine of womanhood does not, either by implication or by definite assertion, build upon the story of Mary. It is of course true that a large number of Christians treat her as the ideal woman, but they do not base their belief in the main upon the evidence of Scripture, but upon the teaching of 'the Church' in later times, and upon the argument that one who was chosen to be the mother of Jesus 'must have been' the best woman who has ever lived. It does not belong to a study that confines itself to Bible teaching either to examine the validity of the appeal to the later Church or to inquire into the worth of a 'must have been.' Yet indirectly the New Testament does test the latter argument, for what 'must have been' would seem likely to show itself in the Gospel stories of Mary. An examination of these is alone in place here.

The New Testament references to Mary are not numerous. There is some advantage in beginning with the last and working back to the first. In the Epistles and the Apocalypse she is not named at all. Some would claim Gal. iv. 4 as an exception, but there Paul is only claiming that the Son of God was human. The translation, 'When the fullness of the time came, God sent forth His Son, born of woman, born under law . . . ,' best gives the sense. It is remarkable that in the discussion of the several questions about woman and her behaviour, and in the passing references to her, which are found in the Epistles, as seen above, no writer seems ever to have thought of referring to Mary for any purpose whatsoever. There is a single reference to her outside the Gospels, but it does no more than tell us that Mary belonged to the group of the Upper Room in the days between the Ascension

and Pentecost (Acts i. 14). It shows that at this stage Mary was among those who 'believed in' her Son.

The Fourth Gospel does not use the name 'Mary,' but refers three times to 'the mother of Jesus.' Of these references one is unimportant (John vi. 42). The other two are best studied together. The one stands at the beginning of Jesus' public ministry (John ii. 1–12), the other at its close (John xix. 25–27). In the second Jesus, from the very Cross, commends His mother to the care of 'the beloved disciple.' There is the implication that, at least on the last of His journeys to Jerusalem, she had followed Him. It is also clear that to the end of Jesus' life there was between them the link that binds every true son and mother, for even in the agony of Crucifixion His sense of duty to her lay heavy on His heart. Yet this story tells us more about Him than about her. The earlier story is that of the marriage at Cana. The writer cannot agree with those who resolve this into a piece of symbolism. It seems to him to bear many marks of verisimilitude, and to be exactly consonant with the one story of Mary that is found in Mark, as well as with the 'birth stories' of the other Synoptists. It implies that Mary knew that her Son was far from an 'ordinary man,' that she had been awaiting His 'hour,' and that, having heard (probably from the little band of His 'disciples') of the witness of the Baptist to Him, and of the significant conversations that followed it, she sprang to the conclusion that Jesus' 'hour' was at last here. Jesus loved His mother, and gratified her immediate wish, yet with a reservation. He said, 'Woman, what have I to do with thee? Mine hour is not yet come.' The term 'woman' does not connote the same coldness that it would have if an Englishman used it to his mother, but the two sentences are still a firm, though gentle, rebuff. They did mean that Jesus saw already that the path He would have to tread was not the path of His mother's hopes. He had not lived with her thirty years without reading her heart. He knew what her hopes were, and what she thought was the right way to realize them. And He declined to take that way.

Mark has less to say about Mary than John. He does not even name her among the women at the Cross. There are only a passing reference (Mark vi. 3) and the story of Mark iii. 31–35. Here Mary and Jesus' 'brethren' try to make their way to Him through a crowd; some of the crowd tell Him of this; He makes a reply that tacitly rebuffs them: 'Looking round on them which sat round about Him, He said, Behold My mother and My brethren! For whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is My brother, and sister, and mother.' If this is compared with the passage about His 'brethren' in John vii. 3–10, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that there was at least a difference of opinion between Jesus and His mother and 'brethren,' and that He counted their counsel contrary to 'the will of God.' Probably they agreed with 'the people' that the way for Him to succeed was not by Cross but by conquest. There was a woman who seems to have helped Him to die (Mark xiv. 3–9), but it was not His mother.

The Gospels of Matthew and Luke repeat Mark's evidence and add their several 'birth stories.' This brings us to the two passages upon which the whole of the cult of the Virgin rests. Matthew tells us that Mary was the mother of Jesus, that she bare Him while a virgin, and

that 'she was found with child of the Holy Ghost.' These, of course, are all assertions of great importance. So far as Mary is concerned, Matthew adds nothing to them. Luke bears the same witness about her at considerably greater length, and adds a number of details. Of these the most important are Gabriel's greeting, 'Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee'; Elisabeth's cry, 'Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb'; and the song called the Magnificat.

There is no need here to discuss the historicity of these passages, nor the authorship of the Magnificat, nor the authenticity of the particular verses that require a belief in the 'Virgin Birth.' The question pertinent to the present study is, 'Is Mary to be taken as the type of Christian womanhood? Is she woman *par excellence*?' It is clear that in the greatest of her privileges she is not typical but unique. No other woman can be the mother of Jesus. If she is typical at all, is it as virgin or is it as mother? Other women cannot be like her in both ways. The writer does not think that she herself remained perpetually a virgin, for the natural interpretation of such a passage as Mark vi. 3 is that later she bore children to Joseph; but, whether this be so or not, the discussion above shows that the rest of the biblical evidence about womanhood requires that the Christian ideal be rather motherhood than virginity. Does the Bible contradict itself at this one point? There is no need to say that Mary's modesty and humility, and the gentle readiness of her obedience to God, are qualities to be commended to every woman—and, indeed, to every man as well.

The first two chapters of Luke have two other stories which say something of Mary—the story of Simeon and Anna and the story of 'Jesus among the doctors.' The one has the poignant text, 'A sword shall pierce through thine own soul'; the other has the boy Jesus' reply to His mother's expostulation, 'How is it that ye sought Me? Did ye not know that I must be in My Father's house?' The first casts the mind forward to the Cross, but did its fulfilment begin there? Had it not begun when Jesus told a crowd that to be His mother one must do 'the will of God'? Had it not begun earlier still when He had to say, 'Woman, what have I to do with thee?' Is there not the first hint of it even in the boy's answer in the Temple? At any rate, the evidence suggests that during Jesus' public ministry Mary hindered rather than helped Him, though after His resurrection she saw that He had 'done all things well.' If Mary be the representative Christian woman at all, it is not because she was without flaw, nor because she was virgin, but because she was mother.[1]

[1] The writer has pursued a part of this theme in an article entitled 'The Mother of Jesus,' published in *The Preacher's Magazine*, October, 1905.

INDEX TO SCRIPTURE REFERENCES

References to discussions of *whole books* of Scripture will be found in the Index of Names and Subjects.

THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Genesis.

i. 27 . . 61, 76, 87
i. 31 . . . 76
ii. 18 . 42, 18 ff. 61
ii. 24 f. . . . 32
iii. . . . 39 f.
iii. 16 . . . 86
v. 2 . . . 61
ix. 6 . . . 115
xii. 10 ff. . . 34
xii. 17 . . . 34
xvi. 2 . . 31, 32, 33
xvi. 6 . . . 46
xvi. 7 ff. . . 48
xviii. 9 ff. . . 46
xix. 7 . . . 35
xix. 8 . . 41 f.
xix. 30 ff. . . 41
xx. 1 ff. . . 34
xx. 12 . . . 74
xxi. 9 ff. . . 46
xxi. 10 . . . 46
xxiv. 36 . . 46
xxiv. 28 . . 47
xxiv. 58 . . 42
xxiv, 60 . . 32
xxiv. 67 . . 46
xxv. 6 . . . 46
xxvi. 1 ff. . . 34
xxvii. 6 ff. . . 46
xxix. 31–xxx. 24 . 31
xxx. i. . . . 32
xxx. 1–3 . . 32
xxx. 3 . . 33, 46
xxx. 15 ff. . . 46
xxxi. 16 . . 46
xxxi. 33 . . 46
xxxi. 43 . . 16
xxxi. 50 . 32, 33
xxxiv. 25 . . 46
xxxiv. 31 . . 37
xxxviii.. . 34, 37
xxxviii. 15 . . 38
xxxviii. 21–24 . 38
xxxviii. 24 . . 37
xxxviii. 26 . 31, 42

Exodus.

ii. 16 ff.. . . 43
vi. 20 . . . 74
xv. 20 . . . 43
xix. 13 . . . 114
xix. 15 . . . 35
xx. 12 . . . 47
xx. 14 . . . 43
xx. 19 . . . 115
xxi. 7 . . . 42
xxi. 7 ff. . . 33
xxi. 7–11 . . 46
xxi. 10 . . . 42
xxi. 12 . . . 115
xxi. 13 . . . 115
xxi. 14 . . . 115
xxi. 15 . . 47, 115
xxi. 17 . . 47, 115
xxi. 20 . . . 43
xxi. 26 f. . . 43
xxi. 28 f. . . 43
xxi. 29 . . . 115
xxii. 2 f. . . 115
xxii. 16 f. . . 42
xxii. 19 . . 35
xxiii. 17 . . 48 f.
xxx. 33 . . . 114
xxxi. 14 f. . . 114
xxxii. 27 . . 114
xxxiv. 15 . . 39
xxxv. 2 . . 114
xxxv. 22 . . 60
xxxv. 25 f. . . 60
xxxv. 29 . . . 60

Leviticus.

i. 3 . . . 61
i. 10 . . . 61
iv. 23 . . . 61
iv. 28 . . . 61
vi. 18 . . . 61
vi. 29 . . . 61
x. 14 . . . 60
xii. 2 . . . 61
xii. 5 . . . 61
xviii. 6 . . . 76
xviii. 6 ff. . 73, 75
xviii. 16 . . 74
xviii. 18 . 67, 74
xviii. 24 . . 60
xviii. 29 . . 114
xix. 20 . . 67, 115
xix. 29 . . . 66
xx. 1 ff. . . 114
xx. 6 . . . 114
xx. 9 . . . 115
xx. 10 . . 34, 115
xx. 10 ff. . 73, 75
xx. 11 f. . . 115
xx. 13 . . . 115
xx. 14 . . . 115
xx. 15 f. . . 115
xx. 17 . . . 114
xx. 17–19 . . 115
xx. 21 . . . 74
xxi. 7 . . . 61
xxi. 9 . . . 114
xxi. 14 . . . 61
xxi. 14 f. . . 73
xxi. 16 . . . 115
xxi. 29 f. . . 115
xxii. 19 . . 61
xxiii. 29 f. . . 114
xxiv. 10 ff. . . 60
xxiv. 16 . . 114
xxiv. 17 . . 115
xxiv. 21 . . 115
xxvii. 1–8 . . 61

Numbers.

i. 2 f. . . . 61
i. 51 . . . 73
iii. 10 . . . 73
iii. 15 . . . 61
iii. 38 . . . 73
iii. 40 . . . 61
v. 6 . . . 60
v. 11 ff. . . 75
v. 27 . . . 115
vi. 2 . . . 60
ix. 13 . . . 114
xii. 14 . . . 44
xiv. 33 . . . 39
xv. 30 f. . . 114
xv. 35 f. . . 114
xvi. 40 . . . 73
xviii. 4 . . . 73
xviii. 7 . . . 73
xxv. 1–5 . . 38
xxv. 4 . . . 39
xxv. 6 ff. . . 66
xxvii. 1–11 . . 73
xxx. 3–16 . . 60
xxxi. 15 ff. . . 60
xxxv. 9 ff. . . 115
xxxv. 16 ff. . . 115

xxxv. 27 . . 115
xxxv. 29 f. . . 115
xxxvi. . . 69, 73
xxxvi. 6 . . 73

Deuteronomy.

iv. 3 . . . 39
vii. 13 . . . 52
xiii. 1 ff. . . 114
xiii. 6 ff. . . 114
xiii. 12 ff. . . 114
xvi. 16 . . . 53
xvii. 2 ff. . . 114
xvii. 12 . . 115
xvii. 15 . . 57
xvii. 17 . 55, 58
xviii. 20 ff. . . 114
xix. 1 ff. . . 115
xix. 11 ff. . . 115
xxi. 1 ff. . . 115
xxi. 10 ff. . 36, 53
xxi. 15 ff. . 53, 58
xxi 18 ff. . . 115
xxi. 22 . . . 114
xxii. 13 ff. . . 115
xxii. 19 . . 53
xxii. 21 . 51, 52, 53
xxii. 22 34, 50, 115
xxii. 22–27 . . 53
xxii. 23 ff. . 80, 115
xxii. 25 ff. . 53, 115
xxii. 29 . . 53
xxii. 30 . . 55
xxiii. 17 f. . . 51
xxiv. 1 f. . . 58
xxiv. 7 . . 115
xxv. 5 ff. . . 52
xxviii. 11 . . 52
xxviii. 18 . . 52
xxviii. 30 . . 52
xxviii. 56 ff. . . 56
xxix. 11 . . 53
xxix. 18 . . 53
xxx. 9 . . . 52
xxxi. 12 . . 53

Joshua.

ii. 1 . . . 37
vi. 17 ff. . . 37
viii. 2 . . . 36
viii. 25 ff. . . 36
xvii. 6 . . . 43

Judges.

iv. 9 . . . 49
iv. 17 . . . 46
v. 28 ff. . . 47
v. 30 . . . 36
viii. 19 . . . 46
viii. 31 . . . 33
ix. 18 . . . 33
ix. 53 ff. . . 43
ix. 54 . . . 49
xi. 1 . . . 37
xi. 1 f. . . 37
xi. 2 . . . 47
xi. 34 . . 31, 43
xi. 37 . . . 31
xiii. 3 . . . 31
xiii. 3 ff. . . 48
xv. 1 . . . 16
xvi. 1 . . 37, 40
xvi. 4 ff. . . 37
xvii. . . . 47
xvii. 1 ff. . . 47
xvii. 2 ff. . . 44
xix. 1 ff. . . 33
xix. 1–9 . . 33
xix. 2 . . 34, 37
xix. 3 . . . 52
xix. 22 . . . 35
xix. 24 . . . 42
xix. 30 . . . 35
xxi. 7–12 . . 73

Ruth.

i. 8 . . . 47
iii. 7 ff. . . 44
iii. 10 . . . 42
iv. 5 . . . 31
iv. 10 . . . 31
iv. 11 ff. . . 32
iv. 12 . . . 31
iv. 14 ff. . . 32

1 Samuel.

i. 6 . . . 31
i. 8 . . . 31
i. 11 . . . 49
i. 11 ff. . . 31
i. 28 . . . 47
ii. 12 . . . 38
ii. 18 ff. . . 47
ii. 21 . . . 31
ii. 22 . . . 38
iii. 13 . . . 38
iv. 20 . . 31, 49
ix. 11 . . . 43
xiv. 50 . . . 55
xviii. 6 ff. . 43, 54
xviii. 20 f. . . 53
xix. 11 ff. . . 54
xxi. 4 f. . . 35
xxv. . . . 54
xxv. 3 ff. . . 54
xxv. 39 ff. . . 53
xxviii. . . . 54

2 Samuel.

i. 20 . . . 54
i. 24 . . . 54
i. 26 . . . 54
iii. 2 ff. . . 55
iii. 6 ff. . . 55
iii. 7 . . . 55
iii. 13 ff. . . 52
iii. 16 . . . 54
iv. 6 . . . 54
v. 13 f. . . . 55
vi. 20 ff. . . 54
xi. 4 ff. . . 50
xii. 5 . . . 116
xii. 7 . . . 35
xii. 8 . . . 55
xii. 10 . . . 35
xii. 11 . . 52, 55
xiii. 12 . . . 52
xiv. 2 ff. . . 54
xiv. 6 . . . 116
xiv. 11 . . . 116
xv. 16 . . . 55
xvi. 21 f. . . 55
xvi. 22 . . . 74
xvii. 17 ff. . . 55
xx. 3 . . . 55
xx. 16 ff. . . 54
xxi. 8 ff. . . 55

1 Kings.

i. 11 . . . 55
ii. 13 . . . 55
ii. 18 . . . 55
ii. 21 f. . . 55
ii. 37 . . . 116
iii. 1 . . . 55
iii. 16 . . . 51
xi. 3 . . . 55
xi. 19 . . . 55
xiv. 24 . . . 51
xv. 12 f. . . 51
xv. 13 . . . 55
xvi. 31 . . . 55
xvii. 9 . . . 53
xx. 3 . . . 52
xxi. 10 . . . 114
xxi. 13 . . . 114
xxii. 46 . . . 51

2 Kings.

ii. 10 f. . . . 51
iv. . . . 54
iv. 1 ff. . . 53
iv. 23 ff. . . 54
vi. 26 . . . 54
viii. . . . 54
viii. 18 . . . 55
xxii. 14 . . 53, 54
xxiii. 7 . . . 51

1 Chronicles.

i. 32 . . . 67
ii. 3 f. . . . 67
iii. 9 . . . 67
xxv. 5 f. . . 60

2 Chronicles.

xi. 21 . . . 67
xiii. 21 . . . 67
xv. 3 . . . 60
xv. 13 . . . 114

Ezra.

ii. 64 ff. . 61, 68
viii. 4 ff. . . 61
ix. . . 60, 72, 73
x. . . . 60
x. 14 . . . 71

Nehemiah.

iii. 12 . . . 62
v. 5 . . 61, 76
vii. 67 . . . 60
viii. 12 . . . 60
x. 28 . . . 60
xii. 43 . . . 60
xiii. 23 ff. . 60, 72

Esther.

i. 16 ff. . . . 61
iv. 14 . . . 60
v. 14 . . . 60
vi. 13 . . . 60

Job.

ii. 9 f. . . . 60
xxxi. 1 . . . 66
xxxi. 10 . . 76
xlii. 14 ff. . . 68

Psalms.

xlv. 9 . . . 55
xlv. 13 f. . . 55
lviii. 6 . . . 68
lxxviii. . . . 63 f.
cvi. 28–30 . . 39
cvii. 32 . . 71
cxiii. 9 . . . 69
cxxvii. 3–5 . . 68
cxxviii. 3 . . 68
cxxviii. 6 . . 68
cxliv. 12 . . 68

Proverbs.

xi. 16 . . . 54
xi. 20 . . . 54
xii. 4 . . . 54
xiv. 1 . . . 54
xv. 25 . . . 53
xviii. 22 . . 54
xix. 13 f. . . 54
xxi. 9 . . . 54
xxi. 19 . . . 54
xxv. 27 f. . . 51
xxvii. 15 f. . 54
xxix. 3 . . . 51
xxx. 16 . . 69
xxxi. 3 . . . 67
xxxi. 10–31 61 f., 66 f., 69, 116
xxxi. 23 . . 71
xxxi. 30 . . 76

Ecclesiastes.

vii. 26 . . . 60
vii. 28 . . . 60
ix. 9 . . . 68

Song of Songs.

vi. 8 f. . . . 65
vii. 10 . . . 66
viii. 6 . . 66, 76

Isaiah.

i. 21 . . . 51
iii. 16 ff. . . 56
iv. 1 . . . 52
iv. 4 . . . 56
xxxii. 9 ff. . . 56
l. 1 . . . 76
liv. 1 . . . 69
liv. 4 . . . 69
liv. 6 . . . 68
lxii. 4 f. . . 67

Jeremiah.

ii. 20 . . . 51
iii. 1 ff. . . 51
iii. 6 ff. . . 58
v. 7 f. . . 51
vi. 12 . . . 52
vii. 9 . . . 51
vii. 10 . . . 52
ix. 2 . . . 51
ix. 20 f. . . 56
xiii. 18 . . . 55
xiii. 27 . . . 51
xx. 15 . . . 52
xxiii. 10 . . 50
xxiii. 14 . . 51
xxix. 23 . . 51
xxxviii. 22 . . 55
xliv. 9 ff. . . 54
xliv. 9–30 . . 53

Ezekiel.

viii. 14 . . . 52
xvi. . . . 52
xvi. 15 . . . 51
xviii. 6 ff. . . 51
xxii. 10 . . 55
xxii. 11 . . 51
xxiii. . . 52, 58
xliv. 22 . . 52

Daniel.

xi. 37 . . . 67

Hosea.

ii. 16 . . 54
iv. 2 . . . 51
iv. 11 . . . 51
iv. 14 . . . 51
vii. 4 . . . 51
ix. 9 ff. . . 51
ix. 10 . . . 39
x. 9 . . . 51

Joel.

iii. 3 . . . 66

Amos.

iv. 1 ff. . . 56
vii. 17 . . . 51

Micah.

i. 7 . . . 51
vii. 6 . . . 54
vii. 10 . . . 56

Nahum.

iii. 4 . . . 51

Zechariah.

xii. 12–14 . . 60

Malachi.

i. 14 . . . 61
ii. 14 ff. . . 68
ii. 16 . . . 61

THE NEW TESTAMENT.

MATTHEW.
i. and ii. . 118 f.
xix. 3–12 . . 99
xix. 12 . . 94, 99
xxvii. 19 . . 93

MARK.
iii. 31–35 . . 118
vi. 3 . . 118, 119
vi. 17 ff. . . 93
x. 2–12 . . . 99
x. 5 . . . 100
x. 6 . . . 98
x. 6 f. . . 89
xii. 18 ff. . . 74
xiv. 3–9 . . 118

LUKE.
i. and ii. . . 118 f.
ii. 22–39 . . 119
ii. 36 ff. . . 91
ii. 41–51 . . 121
ii. 51 . . . 82
vii. 13 . . . 80
viii. 1 f. . . 80
viii. 3 . . . 80
x. 17 . . 82, 83
x. 38 ff. . . 80
xvii. 26 ff. . 97, 98
xx. 34–36 . . 94
xxi. 23 . . . 97
xxiii. 29 . . 97

JOHN.
ii. 1 ff. . . 80, 118 f.
iv. 27 . . . 79
vi. 42 . . . 118
vii. 3–10 . . 118
vii. 53–viii. 11 79 f.
xi. 5 . . . 80
xix. 25–27 . . 118

ACTS.
i. 14 . . 80, 118
viii. 3 . . . 81
viii. 12 . . . 81
ix. 2 . . . 81
ix. 36 ff. . . 91
xiii. 50 . . . 93
xvi. 1 . . . 72
xvi. 14 ff. . . 91
xvi. 16 ff. . . 93
xvii. 4 . . . 81
xvii. 12 . . 81
xvii. 34 . . 81
xviii. 26 . 82, 91
xxi. 9 . . 86, 91

ROMANS.
i. 26 f. . . . 98
vii. 3 . . . 99
xiii. 1 . . . 82
xvi. 1 . . . 91

1 CORINTHIANS.
iii. 23 . . . 84
vii. . . 96 ff.
vii. 2 . . . 102
vii. 4 . . . 101
vii. 8 f. . . 99
vii. 9 . . . 97
vii. 10–16 . . 101
vii. 11 . . . 99
vii. 26 . . . 97
vii. 29 . . . 97
vii. 39 . . . 102
ix. 15 . . . 80
xi. 2–16 . . 81
xi. 3 . . . 83
xi. 5 . . . 86
xi. 7 . . . 87
xi. 11 . 89, 107, 109
xi. 11 f. . . 87
xiv. 34 . . . 86
xiv. 34–36 . . 81
xv. 23 ff. . . 98
xv. 24–28 . . 84
xv. 28 . . . 82

2 CORINTHIANS.
vi. 14 . . . 102

GALATIANS.
iii. 26 . . . 106
iii. 27 f. . . 81
iii. 28 . . 106, 110
iv. 4 . . . 117

EPHESIANS.
iii. 15 . . . 25
v. 21 . . . 82
v. 21 f. . . 83
v. 22 ff. . . 83
v. 22–33 . . 81
v. 22–vi. 9 . . 88
v. 25 ff. . . 83
v. 32 . . . 98
v. 33 . . . 84

PHILIPPIANS.
iv. 2 f. . . . 91

COLOSSIANS.
iii. 18 . . . 81
iii. 18 ff. . . 88

1 THESSALONIANS.
iv. 4 f. . . . 97

1 TIMOTHY.
ii. 9 . . . 82
ii. 9–15 . . . 81
ii. 12 . . 82, 86
ii. 15 . . . 90
iii. 2 . . . 103
iii. 4 . . . 82
iii. 12 . . . 103
iv. 3 f. . . . 96
v. 9 . . . 103
v. 10 . . . 90
v. 14 . . . 90

2 TIMOTHY.
i. 5 . . . 90
iii. 6 f. . . . 93

TITUS.
i. 6 . . . 103
ii. 4 . . . 90
ii. 5 . . . 81

HEBREWS.
ii. 8 . . . 82

1 PETER.
ii. 18 . . . 82
ii. 18–iii. 7 . . 88
iii. 1–7 . . . 81
iii. 2 . . . 84
iii. 3 . . . 82
iii. 7 . . 88, 93
iii. 6 . . . 84

1 JOHN.
iv. 9 . . . 105

2 JOHN.
1–13 . . . 91

REVELATION.
xiv. 4 . . . 96
xix. 7 . . . 98
xix. 9 . . . 98
xxi. 2 . . . 98
xxi. 9 . . . 98

INDEX TO REFERENCES TO APOCRYPHA, &c.

(The books are arranged alphabetically)

Enoch xv. 6 f. 95, 116
Judith . . 116 f.
1 Macc. i. 15 . . 72
Pirke Aboth i. 5 . 116
ii. 8 . . 116
Sirach xxvi. 1–8 . 116
xxxvi. 24 . 116
Susanna . 116 f.
Testament of Issachar
ii. 3 . . 116
Tobit ii. 11–14 . 116
iii. 7–15 . . 116
Zadokite Fragment
vii. 1–7 . . 116

INDEX OF NAMES AND SUBJECTS

The titles of the chapters, and of the sections of the chapters, are included in this index. Books are quoted under the name of the *author* and not under the title of the book.

A

Abigail, 54
Abimelech, 43
Abraham, 13 f., 32, 58
Absalom, 55, 56
Accommodation, 18, 24 f., 63 f., 68, 72 ff., 80, 85, 87 f., 92 f., 100, 102, 103 ff., 106, 112
Acts of Apostles, 80 f.
Adonijah, 56
Adultery, 34 f., 42 f., 50 f., 53, 75, 79 f., 100, 115, 116
Akbar, 44
Altruism, 22 f.
Amnon, 56
Amos, 56
Angel of the Lord, The, 48
Angels, 95, 116
Anglican Liturgy, 78
Anna, 119
Anna (wife of Tobit), 116
'Apocryphal and Apocalyptic Books, Doctrine of Womanhood in,' 116 f.
Apollos, 82
Apostasy, 39, 52, 55, 60, 114
Apostles, 79, 81 ff.
Arabs, ancient, 35
Asceticism.—*See* Celibacy, 67
Asherah, 51
Ashtaroth, 95
Assyria, 13
Athaliah, 50, 57
Autocracy of Head of House, 42, 49, 52 f., 58, 75 f.

B

Baal, 57
Baalim and Ashtaroth, 95
Babylonia, 39, 40, 71
Barbarians, Teutonic, 84, 88
Barton (G. A.), quoted, 38, 40
Bathsheba, 35
Benson (Joseph), quoted, 33
Betrothal, 115
Bible, The, 9, 12 ff., 14 ff.
Blackstone (Sir W.), quoted, 115
Boaz, 17, 31, 69
Bondwomen, 33, 42, 46, 68, 74, 75 f., 115
Brethren of Jesus, 118, 119
Briggs (C. A.), quoted, 27
Buddhism, 39 f.

C

Cana, The Marriage at, 118 f.
Canaanites, 35, 39, 40, 51 f., 55
'Capital Punishment in Hebrew Law,' 114 ff.
Captives, Women, 35 f.
Caste, 72
Celibacy, 32, 40, 44 f., 47, 52, 63, 66 f., 96, 104, 105, 117 ff.
'Celibacy, Remarriage, and Divorce,' 98 ff.
Census, 61
Chapman (A. T.), quoted, 114
Charles (R. H.), quoted, 99
'Children, Women as Means of,' 30 ff.
Children, Blessing of, 31, 52
China, 33, 57
Church and Christ, 84, 98
Church, Women in the, 81 ff., 86 ff.
Choice of husbands, Women's, 42, 53, 73
Cities of Israel, 50
Cities of Refuge, 115
Clarke (A.), quoted, 63
Coercion, 69 f., 83, 88, 105
Commandments, The Ten.—*See* Decalogue
Compromise.—*See* Accommodation
Concubinage, 33 f., 46, 56, 67, 68, 74
Conrad (J.), quoted, 65
'Conspectus of Old Testament Authorities,' 27 f.
Continence, 35, 97, 117
Corinth, Church at, 86 ff., 92, 96 ff., 101
Court, The Hebrew, 56
'Covenant, The Book of the,' 42, 43, 47, 114

Creation, Story of.—*See* Eden, 61, 66, 69, 76, 87, 98
'Curse of the Harem, The,' 54 ff.

D

Daniel, 67
David, 35, 50, 54, 55, 56, 65
'Dawn of a Higher Concept, The Slow,' 41 ff.
Day (E.), quoted, 37
Deborah, 36, 42, 43, 48, 50, 65
Decalogue, 34, 43, 47, 114
Deceased Wife's Sister, 67 f., 74
'Degrees, Forbidden.'—*See* Forbidden
Delilah, 37, 40
Deutero-Isaiah, 71
Deuteronomists, 36, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 57, 58, 100, 114
Dickens (C.), quoted, 115
Dinah, 37, 43
'Dispersion,' The, 70 f.
Divorce, 58, 61, 68, 99 ff., 103, 104, 116
Documents for Old Testament Periods, 27 f.
'Dominant Axiom, The,' 78 ff.
Douglas (R. K.), quoted, 33
Driver (S. R.), quoted, 12, 27, 114

E

Ecclesiastes.—*See* Koheleth
Eden, Story of, 32, 39 f., 42, 86
Egyptians, 71, 74
Eighteenth Century, The, 115
Elders, 16, 71, 116
Elijah, 57
Elisabeth, 78, 119
Endogamy, 60, 72, 73, 74 f., 102
Endor, Witch of, 54
'Epilogue,' 110 ff.
Equality of Men and Women (cf. Autocracy), 10, 20, 23, 30, 43, 53, 61 ff., 69, 71, 79 ff., 83 f., 87 89 ff., 101, 106, 107 f., 111, 112 f., 115
Esther, 50, 60, 71, 116
Esther, Book of, 60, 64, 67, 76
Eternity, 95, 104
Eunice, 90
Exile, 19, 51, chap. iv.
Ezekiel, 52
Ezra, 17, 72

F

Family (cf. Home), 14, 16 f., 20, 31, 45, 46 ff., 52 f., 70 ff., 82 ff., 97
Father, Autocracy of.—*See* Autocracy
Fatherhood of God, 20, 22, 25, 40, 95, 106
Feasts, Hebrew, 48
Feminist Movement, 110 f.
Foley (W. M.), quoted, 102, 103
'Forbidden Degrees,' 73 ff., 75, 76, 101, 103, 104, 115
'Forewords,' 9
Fowler (W. W.), quoted, 103
France, 72 f.
Freedom of Women, 43 f., 44 f., 46, 53 f., 69 f., 83
Freewoman, 42
Friendship, 107
Future State, The, 93 ff., 96, 98 f.

G

Gabriel, 119
Gaza, Harlot of, 37, 40
'General Social Doctrine of the Bible, The,' 14 ff.
Genesis, Book of, 13, 15 f., 86 f.
Gibbon (E.), quoted, 92
Gibeah, 35, 41 f.
Gita Govinda, 63, 64
Greeks, 35, 44, 71, 84, 102

H

Hagar, 48, 58
Hair, 82
Haman, 60
Hammurabi, Code of, 44 f., 115
Hannah, 31, 43, 47 f.
Harem, 18 f., 44, 54 ff., 62, 64 f., 74
Harlotry, 32, 34, 35, 36 ff., 51 f., 56, 115
Harlotry, Religious, 38 ff., 44, 46
Harmony of Individual and Society, 21 f.
Hastings (J.), quoted, 12, 99
Head of Household, Widow as, 47, 53
Help-meet, 42, 62
Heman's Daughters, 60
Herodias, 93
'Higher Concept, The Slow Dawn of a,' 41 ff.
'Higher Criticism,' 12
Hinduism, 32, 39, 40, 63, 71, 72, 77, 80, 82, 98 f., 111 f.
'Historical Point of View, The,' 9 ff.
Holiness, Code of, 76
Home (cf. Family), 20 f., 25 f., 45, 48, 66 f., 69, 70, 83 ff., 91, 97, 104, 105 106 f., 108 f., 114 f.
'Home and the Nation, The,' 70 ff.
'Home, Personality within,' 61 ff.
Homicide, 115
Hophni and Phinehas, 38
Hosea, 34
Huldah, 54
Husband.—*See* Marriage

I

Ideal, The Final or Christian, 15, 21 ff., 25, 70, 106 ff., 117, 119 f.
'Israel After the Kings,' chap. iv.—*See* Post-Monarchic
'Israel Before the Kings,' chap. ii.—*See* Pre-Monarchic
'Israel Under the Kings,' chap. iii.—*See* Monarchy
Image of God, Man the, 19, 21, 23, 61, 113
Immanence.—*See* Spirit
Incest, 101
Independence of Women, 107 f.—*See* Rights
Individualism, 106 ff.—*See* Personality
Intermarriage.—*See* Endogamy, 73 ff., 104
'Intermarriage and Monogamy,' 101 ff.
Isaac, 32, 78
Isaiah, 52

J

Jacob, 32, 68
Jael, 42, 43, 116
Jephthah's daughter, 31, 48
Jephthah's mother, 37, 47
Jeremiah, 52, 58
Jesus, 20, 22, 24, 70, 72, 73, 78 ff., 82, 91, 93 ff., 99 f., 117 ff.
'Jesus, One in Christ,' chap. v.
Jezebel, 50, 57, 93
'Jezebel, The Type of,' 19, chap. iii.
Jihad, 35 f.
Joab, 54
Job's Wife, 60, 116
John, Gospel of, 79, 118 f.
Johns (C. H. W.), quoted, 45, 115
Jonah, 71
Joseph, 82, 119
Judah, 37
Judges, 14, 16, 48, 114 f., 116
Judges, Book of, 34
Judith, 50, 116 f.

K

Kautzsch (E.), quoted, 41
Kedeshah, 33 ff., 39, 44, 51 f.
Kingship, 17, 67, 116
'Kings, Israel After the,' chap. iv.—*See* Post-Monarchic
'Kings, Israel Before the,' chap. ii.—*See* Pre-Monarchic
'Kings, Israel Under the,' chap. iii.—*See* Monarchy
Koheleth, 60

L

Law, Codes of, 34, 36, 42, 43, 47, 50, 52, 53, 58, 69, 73 f., 75 ff., 79 f., 86, 88, 94, 100, 101, 111, 114 ff.
Leah, 31, 43, 68
Levirate Marriage, 31, 52, 74, 94
Levite's Concubine, The, 34
Likeness of God, Man in the.—*See* Image of God
Lois, 90
Lot, 41 f.
Love, 22, 59, 63
Love-songs, 63
'Lower Concept, The Waning of a,' 35 ff.
Lust.—*See* Means of Pleasure, Woman as
Lydia, 81

M

Maccabees, 72, 73
Magnificat, 119
Maine (Sir H.), quoted, 80
Malachi, 61, 68
Males, Value set on, 48 f., 60 f., 80, 84
Manoah's wife, 43, 48
Man-stealing, 115
Marriage, 11, 13 f., 17, 36, 40, 42, 52 f., 54, 58, 66 f., 69, 78, 81 ff., 96 ff., 98 ff., 105, 109, 115
Mary, the Virgin, 82, 117 ff.
Mary, the 'other,' 118
'Means of Children, Woman as,' 30 ff., 41 f., 52, 55 f., 59, 62, 67 f., 73, 75, 79 f., 90, 107, 110, 116
Means of Pleasure, Woman as, 30, 32, 35 ff., 41, 44, 52, 55 f., 59, 62, 64, 66, 97, 116 f.
Meekness, 22 ff., 81, 83, 84 f., 88
Metronymy, 41
Micah the Levite, 47
Michal, 54
Miriam, 43, 48
Moabites, 39
Moffatt (J.), quoted, 99
Mohammedanism, 44, 93, 111
Monarchy, Hebrew, chap. iii., 12 f., 17 f., 28, 34
Monogamy, 32, 34, 56, 58, 62, 64 ff., 68, 99, 102 f., 104 f., 111, 116
Monotheism, 71
Moore (G. F.), quoted, 36
Moses, 43
Motherhood (cf. Means of Children, Woman as), 44 f., 46 ff., 55, 68 f., 90 ff., 107, 115, 119
Murder, 114 f.

Mutual Perfection, 24, 26, 45, 48, 69 f., 84, 87, 89 f., 94, 111
'Mutual Perfection, A,' 106 ff

N

Naboth, 114
Naomi, 32, 43, 47, 48
Nathan, 35
'Nation, The Home and the,' 70 ff.
Nazirite, 60, 67
Nehemiah, 17, 71, 72
Neighbour, Love of, 59
Nelson, 37
New Testament, chap. v., 12, 19 ff.
New Testament Treatment Fragmentary, 78
Nomads, 35, 43

O

Obed, 32
Old Testament, chaps. ii.–iv., 12–19, 27 f.
'Omission of the Prophets, The,' 57 f.
'One in Christ Jesus,' chap. v.
Opportunism.—*See* Accommodation
'Ought a Woman to "Teach"?' 86 ff.

P

Parousia, 96 ff.
Particularism, 71 f.
Patriarchs, 14, 16, 26, 46 f., 48, 67 f.
Patriotism, 72 f., 82
Paul, 64, 81 ff., 86 ff., 92, 93, 96 ff., 101, 102, 106, 107, 117
Penninah, 31, 47
Peor, 'Iniquity of,' 38 f.
Personality, 19, 20 f., 23, 25 f., 30, 33, 41 ff., 52, 53 f., chap. iv. *passim.*, chap. v. *passim.*, 110 ff., 116
'Personality within Home,' 61 ff.
Peter, 81 ff.
Pharisees, 79 f.
Philip, The Daughters of, 92
Phinehas, 39
Polyandry, 14, 52
Polygamy, 14, 16, 32 ff., 46 f., 56, 58, 65, 67 f., 73, 99, 100, 102, 105
Polygyny, 14, 46
Post-Monarchic Israel, chap. iv., 19, 29
'Postulates about the Bible,' 12 ff.
Preaching, Women and, 86 ff., 104, 112
Pre-Monarchic Israel, chap. ii., 16 f., 27 f.
Priests, 61, 67, 73
Priestly Code, The, 114
Priscilla, 81, 82
'Problem of Womanhood To-day, The,' 110 ff.
'Progress by Accommodation,' 103 ff.
Prohibited Degrees.—*See* Forbidden
Property, Crimes against, 115
Property, Wives as.—*See* Means of Children
Prophets, The, 17 f., 50, 51, 53, 57 f., 95
Prostitution.—*See* Harlotry
Proverbs, 54, 62 f., 66, 69, 76, 116
Public Influence of Women (*cf.* Deborah), 54, 55, 56, 57, 60, 116

R

Rabbinism, 86 f., 92 f., 97
Race-suicide, 67, 107 f.
Rachel, 31, 32, 43, 48, 50, 68
Rahab, 37, 40
Ramsay (W. M.), quoted, 90
Reality of Societies, 20 f.
Rebekah, 43, 78
'Religion, The *Rôles* of Law and,' 75 ff.
Religious Basis of Society, The, 20, 22, 41, 48, 58, 71, 76 f., 81, 87, 95, 106, 108 f.
Religious Whoredom, 38 ff., 51 f., 95
Remarriage, 99
Resurrection, 93 f.
Reticence, 11, 63 f.
Righteousness, 17 f.
Rights of Woman (cf. Freedom and Equality), 10, 26, 46 f., 53 f., 107 f., 110
Rivers (W. H. R.), quoted, 13
'*Rôles* of Law and Religion, The,' 75 ff.
Romans, 71, 84
Rothstein (J. W.), quoted, 64
Rulers, Women, 82, 112
Ruth, 31, 43, 47, 48, 50, 56, 68 f.
Ruth, Book of, 17, 32
'Ruth, The Type of,' chap. ii., 17

S

Sadducees, 73, 94
Samaria, Woman of, 79
Samson, 37
Samuel, 47 f.
Sanchi Topes, 40
Sarah, 31, 42, 43, 48
Saul, 43, 54, 55
Scandinavia, 111
Schreiner (O.), quoted, 94
Self-love, 22 f.
Self-realization, 21
Semites, 42
Seventy, The, 82
Sex, 10 ff., 14, 30, 40 f., 44, 66, 76, 77, 79, 81, 89, 93, 93 ff., 104, 105 f., 107

Sex, Secondariness of, 25, 93 ff., 98
Shulammith, 64 ff., 68 f.
'Shulammith, The Type of,' 19, chap. iv., 116
Shunem, Woman of, 54, 116
Simeon, 119
Sirach, 116
Sisera's Mother, 36, 47
Slavery.—*See* Bondwomen, 88, 96
'Slow Dawn of a Higher Concept, The,' 41 ff.
Smith (W. R.), quoted, 36, 37, 38, 42, 43, 46, 55
Snake, The Sacred, 39
'Social Doctrine of the Bible, The General,' 14 ff.
Society, Spiritual Nature of, 20 ff., 23, 69 f., 106 f., 108
Sodom, 41
Sodomy, 35, 115
Solomon, 55, 64 f.
Song of Songs, 19, 63 ff., 68 f., 76
South Seas, 33
Spirit, Holy, 20 ff., 23, 108
Spiritual Nature of Society.—*See* Society
'Stagnation and Decay,' 50 ff.
State, The, 88, 100
Standards of Reticence, 11 f., 63 f.
Subjection.—*See* Submission
'Submission,' 81 ff., 86 ff., 104, 109
'Survival of Old Ideas, The,' 59 ff.
Susanna, 116
Synagogue, 70

T

Tacitus, quoted, 92
Tamar, 34, 37, 40, 42
'"Teach," Ought a Woman to,' 86 ff., 104
Tekoa, Woman of, 54
'Temporariness of Sex, The,' 93 ff.
Tent, a Wife's, 46, 47
Thibet, 82
Tobit, 116
To-day's Problems, 9 ff., 110 ff.
Trees, Sacred, 39
Tribe, 31, 42
Trinity, 82 f., 105, 107
Turgenev (Ivan), quoted, 83
'Type of Jezebel, The,' chap. iii., 19
'Type of Ruth, The,' chap. ii., 17
'Type of Shulammith, The,' chap. iv., 19

U

Universalism, 20, 21 f., 23, 71 f., 105
Uterine Relationship, 46

V

'Variety among Equals,' 89 ff.
Vashti, 60
Veil, 86, 104, 111
Victoria, Queen, 82, 92
Village, The Hebrew, 16, 31
Virgin Birth, The, 117 f.
Virgin, The Sacred, 44 f.
Virginity.—*See* Celibacy

W

'Waning of a Lower Concept, The,' 35 ff.
War, Women and (cf. Deborah), 43, 49, 54, 88, 111
Wesley, 33, 82
Wesleyan Liturgy, 78
Westcott (Bishop), quoted, 79
Widows, 53
Widow as Head of Household, 47, 53
Wife.—*See* Marriage
'Wise Women,' 54
'Woman as Means of Children.'—*See* Means
Woman as Means of Pleasure.—*See* Means
Woman, The Sacred.—*See* Kedeshah
Worship, Women and, 48, 53, 60, 71, 81, 86, 104

Z

Zacharias, 78
Zelophehad, 73
Zeresh, 60
Zoroastrianism, 71